

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume XL

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CLASSICS OR CHAOS

MY KNOWLEDGE of the classics, of the Greek and Roman authors to whom a great part of our civilization is due, is, I regret to say, neither extensive nor profound. But I know enough to know how indispensable they are to our future progress, and how disastrous our neglect of them may prove. For without their guidance we face a recrudescence of the Dark Ages—of centuries of wanton violence, where everything we have so laboriously constructed shall be destroyed and our children's children shall become the chattels of masters who are equally ignorant and inhuman. In such a regime there will be no place for liberty and law. The few will be barbarian tyrants, and the many, barbarian serfs and helots, all for the lack of that wisdom which the classics can impart. These may seem like wild and whirling words, but I believe I can at least adumbrate their truth in what I am about to say.

Once upon a time I was told by a former vice-president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers that nobody had risen to prominence in that profession without some knowledge of the classics. He was speaking from personal experience, and his statement has been borne out by many others. Again, some years ago it was my privilege to attend the commencement exercises of a neighboring college. Among those present was the governor of the state, a wily politician. He gave us a rambling address, full of frowsy platitudes, which were singularly devoid of meaning to anybody who had any brains at all. On the other hand, there were three or four orations, given by members of the graduating class, and each of these speeches was remarkable for its illuminating

ideas, couched in a simple, terse, and fluent style. Each of these showed the result of a thorough training in Latin and Greek. The college was Catholic; and I wondered at the time whether the Roman Catholic Church would repeat its mission during the Dark Ages, and keep alight the torch of culture through another epoch of barbarism. For we have begun a dance of intellectual death, from which we can only be saved by the classics and by religion.

During the last half century the classics have been assailed on every side. We have been told that we should pay attention to science and modern literature, and leave the dead languages to bury their dead. Some time ago, at a banquet of the Classical Club of Greater Boston, I listened to very similar sentiments. The speaker of the evening informed us that we did not need Latin in our schools, because he found Cicero such a bore—though we might have Greek, because his daughter rather liked Homer. He further remarked that it was not at all necessary for a successful lawyer, doctor, or minister to know anything about Greek or Latin; that the old-fashioned method of teaching grammar, based as it was on Latin formulae, was all wrong, because the English language was Teutonic, and hence, for its grammatical sources we should go back to the Teutonic roots; and finally, that English literature was good enough for him without recourse to the so-called classics. At the end of that discourse, a noted surgeon said to me: "We have been listening to a very ignorant man." "Not only ignorant," I answered, "but sleazy in his mind."

And who do you suppose that man was? Not a counter-jumper, not a sales agent, nor an auctioneer. Nothing of the kind. He was a college president, and his college, save the mark, enjoys some little reputation. How long it will last, with him in office, I do not venture to prognosticate; but I should like to consider briefly his various assertions, not because they are worth much in themselves, but because they are symptomatic of a state of mind that is leading us back to barbarism.

Let us first take up his remarks about the teaching of Latin in our schools. He did not care to have it taught because Cicero bored him. That reminds me of a story about Thackeray and Carlyle. They attended a dinner of the Royal Academy in London.

Some of the younger artists grew voluble about Titian. "There is his marvellous color," said one, "and that's a fact about Titian." "There is his Olympian sense of composition," said another, "and that's a fact about Titian." "There is his keen and subtle sense of portraiture," said a third, "and that's a fact about Titian." At last Carlyle was fed up. "Gentlemen," he thundered, "here am I, a man made by God Almighty, who know nothing about Titian, and care nothing about Tirian. And that's another fact about Titian." "Pardon me," said Thackeray, "that is not a fact about Titian. That is a fact, and a very unfortunate fact, about Thomas Carlyle."

So the fact that Cicero bored the college president was not a fact about Cicero. It was a fact, and a very unfortunate fact, about the college president. For, whatever the college president thought about the matter, the fact remains that the speeches and writings of Cicero have molded the English language for more than a thousand years, and countless scholars, authors, and statesmen have found inspiration in his pages. In the words of a Victorian writer:

His copious, majestic, and musical flow of language . . . is never out of keeping with the occasion or with the speaker. It is the expression of lofty sentiments in lofty sentences, the *mens magna in corpore magno*. It is the development of the inner man. Cicero vividly realized the *status* of a Roman senator and statesman, and "the pride of place of Rome" in all the grace and grandeur which attached to her; and he imbibed, and became what he admired. As the exploits of Scipio and Pompey are the expression of this greatness of deed, so the language of Cicero is the expression of it in word. And as the acts of the Roman ruler or soldier represent to us, in a manner special to themselves, the characteristic magnanimity of the lords of the earth, so do the speeches and treatises of her accomplished orator bring it home to our imaginations as no other writing could do. Neither Livy nor Tacitus nor Terence nor Seneca nor Pliny nor Quintilian is an adequate spokesman for the imperial city. They write Latin. Cicero writes Roman.

The lofty sentiments and lofty sentences bored the college president, but they did not bore John Henry Cardinal Newman, whose estimate seems to me rather more competent. For it explains why Cicero has remained as a lasting influence in English thought and expression, a beacon that can still guide us along the paths of progress, if we do not shut our eyes and refuse to see.

The naive theory of the college president that Latin ought not to be taught because Cicero bored him, whereas Greek might be taught because his daughter approved of Homer, has at least one advantage. Like charity, it evidently begins at home. I would merely remark that an education which includes Greek, but excludes Latin, might be called, to put it mildly, a little lopsided. But now let me consider the presidential ideas, if such they may be called, concerning the teaching of grammar. The speaker of the evening told us it was all wrong to base our rules on Latin grammar, because our language came from Teutonic sources, and we ought to go back to the roots of the Teutons. I confess I fail to fathom the profundity of that statement. Does the college president want us to discard such terms as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, interjections, and conjunctions, and revert for our grammar to the text of *Beowulf* or *Ulfilas*? Even if we did so, we should find the nouns, adjectives, and so forth, just the same; for the basic rules hold good for any word in any language. These principles were first formulated at Rome and Alexandria. They were latent in Old English until the beginning of the eighth century, when Adrian, Abbot of Canterbury, and Theodore, Primate of England, established a number of schools of sacred and secular learning which, among other subjects, taught Latin and Greek. The grammatical rules thus established have been with us ever since. They are as true today as they were when King Alfred translated Boethius into Anglo-Saxon. How does the college president propose to improve them by referring us to old, unlettered bards and skalds, who used grammatical forms, as M. Jourdain talked prose, without knowing what they were doing? If you throw out grammar, which has been a staff of knowledge for more than fifteen hundred years, you are depriving yourselves of one of the mainstays of exact thought and clear expression. In so far as you are successful, you are doing your bit to plunge the civilized world into a chaos of ignorance where "universal darkness buries all."

Now we come to the assertion that neither doctors, lawyers, nor ministers need any Latin or Greek, to rise in their several professions. This is clearly disproved by the facts. A good doctor must know not only the meanings of the names of the various diseases,

but also of the remedies of the pharmacopoea, to say nothing of anatomy. But the names of diseases and remedies and of the parts of the body are largely either Greek or Latin words; such as *aorta*, *spiritus frumenti*, and *cerebrospinal-meningitis*. No doctor can either treat an ailment or write a prescription without some knowledge of the classics. And it is the same with a lawyer. In order to understand a great part of legal terminology, he must familiarize himself with a special vocabulary of Latin words. How much easier for him if he knows Latin already! "Ah," you say, "it may be so with lawyers and doctors, but what about a minister of the Gospel? He preaches a faith that came to us from the Hebrews, and from another and diviner source. Why should he bother with Latin and Greek, when his sole duty is to give his flock the Divine Word?" I answer that, important as it is for a lawyer or doctor to have some classical knowledge, it is trebly important for a minister. If he would be something more than an itinerant preacher or hedge parson, he must know something about Cicero, Seneca, Aristotle, Plato, and the Stoics, and the Neo-Platonists, not to mention the *Summa Theologia* of Thomas Aquinas, which is largely based on Plato and Aristotle. For "the clerical profession, in nearly all its activities, is directly descended from the Hellenistic philosophers." "The Christian Church is the last great creative achievement of classical culture," and furthermore, "if we had to choose one man as the founder of Catholicism as a theocratic system, we should have to name neither Augustine nor St. Paul, still less Jesus Christ, but Plato, who, in the *Laws*, sketches out with wonderful prescience the condition of such a polity and the form which it would be compelled to take." These words apply to the Church of England as well as to the Church of Rome, and, for the most part, to the various evangelical bodies. They were uttered not by a free-thinker, but by the Rev. W. R. Inge, the dean of St. Paul's. If what he says be true—and I think we must acknowledge that he is fairly well up in his subject—the question arises, how can a man be a first-class preacher without knowing Plato and a good many other classical authors, including Aristotle?

Now we come to the teachers of modern languages and literatures. Some of them have told us that these alone should be taught. But these particular humanists have failed to realize that their

aims are identical with those of the professors of Latin and Greek. When you speak against one great European language, you speak against them all; and you finally reach the *reductio ad absurdum* of a certain Mr. Joseph Lee, of the Boston School Committee—I am afraid that he is still a member—who pronounces that no pupil in the Boston public schools needs to know any language but his own, and that up-to-date American, together with bookkeeping, stenography, and salesmanship, is more than enough for a liberal education.

You see where you end up when you assume an opposition between modern literature and the classics, when there really is no opposition at all. A knowledge of the one is invariably enhanced by a knowledge of the other. So much so that no teacher of any modern European literature can present his subject adequately unless he is acquainted with the classical authors upon which his subject is based. For example, no teacher of Elizabethan literature can give a well-rounded course unless he knows about Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Cicero, Seneca, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, not to mention Plautus and Terence. The same applies to the various literary periods of Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. A professor may be sympathetic and appreciative and not without flashes of insight. He may be a striking personality and a thoroughly good fellow. But without the requisites I have mentioned, he will, so far as his subject is concerned, remain in vulgar parlance, a "mutt."

"Oh yeah!" some one may say. "But what about translations? You need not read Latin or Greek to get at the sense of Plato and Aristotle." "The substance of Greek and Latin thought," according to a former educator and disciple of Herbert Spencer, "can be got at in translations. It is only the delicacies and refinements of style and poetical expression which are as a rule lost in translation." Only the delicacies and refinements of style and poetical expression! It seems to me that here the former educator puts himself in the same class with the college president and Thomas Carlyle and many other Gradgrinds and Bounderbies. He might as well say that a cabbage leaf will do just as well as a choice Havana cigar. All that you miss is the quality of the tobacco and the

bouquet. There are few people, I should imagine, who would care to traverse the arid waste of most classical translation. If they did, they would have little use for the original. For most translations, in the words of Dryden, resemble the original, as a corpse resembles a living man. Perhaps the eminent educator did not care much whether the authors he read were dead or alive or immortal. But however powerful his influence may have been on our schools and colleges, it was, I am sorry to say, not without the blight of his own peculiar blindness to "the things that are more excellent."

"But Latin and Greek grammar are such painful drudgery!" May be. But what about economics? Are its tangled theories so delightful to master? And by the time you have mastered them, they will probably be upset and exploded, and you will have to begin all over again. You will find that the law of supply and demand is so complicated by extraneous circumstances as hardly to apply in any given case; and that money and credit are things whose workings no fellah can find out. And you might come to the conclusion that the only immutable truths which the science has to offer are the need for food, shelter, and clothing, and the urge for procreation—truths that even a Choctaw or a Hottentot could tell you.

It may be equally hard to master the Greek and Latin grammar and vocabulary, but when you have done it, how much greater the reward! The climb up the side of the mountain may be arduous, but when you reach the top, or even one of the lower peaks, you get a most agreeable and invigorating prospect. You can see "the realms of gold," as Keats used to call them—the demesne of the "deep-browed Homer"; of Pindar, whose poetry is like a mountain torrent; of Aeschylus the supernal, who, from his name, might be called the father of the forest of drama; of Sophocles, "who saw life steadily and saw it whole"; of human Euripides, "with his touchings of things common, till they rose to touch the spheres"; of Aristophanes, whose lyric gift outshines his comedy; of Theocritus, "the singer of the pipe and fold"; of Vergil, "wielder of the stateliest measure ever molded on the lips of man"; of Horace, "who may almost be called an English poet"; of Ovid, "the master and model of narrative poetry from Chaucer onwards"; of Catullus, "tenderest of Roman poets"; of Plato, who never can be really well trans-

lated, even by Jowett; and of Cicero, whose majestic charm will put the boredom of the naive college president to shame. That is what you will get after the mastery of the first irksome details, a heritage of inspiration which, unless you are properly a "mutt," cannot fail to make your life richer, and more fruitful, and much more enjoyable.

"But even after all this, why not let the humanities go by the board? What are they compared to science? Modern education will give you science, and subjects taught scientifically. That is what you need in the modern world." Let me first remark that the sciences fall into two divisions, science and pseudo-science. Around nearly every science there is a thick and florid growth of pseudo-science, as we have seen in the case of economics. The pseudo-scientist is very much among us, taking notes. Often he gets into our colleges and gives courses in talky-talk about such things as capitalism and the Oedipus complex, which fill the heads of his hearers with a welter of half-baked ideas. To apostrophize him in the words of my humble translation from Horace:

You, like a pair of goatskin bellows blow;
And out of you the windy noise will go
With pent-up blast, to fan the raging fire
And melt the iron, if you so desire.

I fancy that a census of pseudo-scientists in America would run up into many thousands. To paraphrase Mme. Roland, "O Science, Science! How many pseudo-sciences have been committed in thy name!"

"Suppose all this tirade is true," persists the objector. "Is it the fault of Science herself that her name has been taken in vain? Think of the real sciences, and the good they have done mankind! Think of physics, chemistry, geology, astronomy, and mechanics, not to mention many more! Think of what they have done for our health and comfort, for our wider and more spacious knowledge of the life about us! Through Science, and Science alone, the man in the street and in the fields is better off today than feudal lords and kings. We have a standard of living that we never had before. And so, in the words of the former educator, 'It appears that Science is the knowledge best worth having, not only in its direct efforts in

promoting the welfare of mankind, but also for its power to strengthen the moral purposes of mankind, and make possible a secure civilization, founded on justice, the sanctity of contracts, and good will'."

Ah, my friends! What about the final clause of that statement? What about "a secure civilization founded on justice, the sanctity of contracts, and good will?" Probably the most uncompromisingly scientific nation in the world is Germany. What about her justice, her sanctity of contracts, her good will to the rest of mankind? Think of her violated treaties with Denmark, Holland, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia! Think of Warsaw, of Coventry, of Rotterdam; of the conduct of life of Hitler, the moral code of Anti-Christ! A pretty lesson you will get from Science, when you turn to her for spiritual guidance!

Such is the direct outcome of nineteenth-century materialism, so ardently championed by Herbert Spencer and his eminent disciple—the survival of the fittest gone crazy. Its contemptible ideology of lies, robbery, and murder has been proclaimed as the gospel of a new order. But its machinations are hoary with an unvenerable old age. Its malignant evils were pointed out by Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*; but they are older than Thucydides. They go back to primitive talon and fang, to the ethical concepts of the dinosaurs. And if they keep on long enough, they will eventually destroy all our arts and sciences, and our civilization to boot.

For Science has nothing in common with morality as such. She can correlate facts, but she has nothing to do with ethical and aesthetic values. She can give you an improved system of sanitation, but she cannot teach you the difference between right and wrong. She can show you how to split the atom, but she cannot distinguish between the noble and the vile. Her province embraces the correlated facts of the material world, but only religion and the liberal arts can show you how to take advantage of the ampler life which she provides. "Peace on earth, good will to men" is religious, not scientific. "The light that never was on sea or land, the consecration and the poet's dream" you can get from the liberal arts, but not from science.

Who loves not Knowledge? Who shall rail
 Against her beauty? May she mix
 With men and prosper! Who shall fix
 Her pillars? Let her work prevail.

But on her forehead sits a fire:
 She sets her forward countenance
 And leaps into the future chance,
 Submitting all things to desire.

Half-grown as yet, a child, and vain—
 She cannot fight the fear of death,
 What is she, cut from love and faith,
 But some wild Pallas from the brain

Of Demons? fiery-hot to burst
 All barriers in her onward race
 For power. Let her know her place;
 She is the second, not the first.

A higher hand must make her mild,
 If all be not in vain; and guide
 Her footsteps, moving side by side
 With Wisdom, like the younger child:

For she is earthly of the mind,
 But Wisdom heavenly of the soul.
 O friend, who camest to thy goal
 So early, leaving me behind,

I would the great world grew like thee,
 Who grewest not alone in power
 And knowledge, but by year and hour
 In reverence and in charity.

—*In Mem. cxiv*

Let Science go hand in hand with Reverence and Charity, with the finer sensibilities and experiences. Then, and not till then, shall we begin to lead a life that is really worth living. And for this we must turn, besides the Bible, to the fountainhead of poetry and philosophy, the classics of Greece and Rome, not merely because they conduce to charity and exactitude of thought, but because without them, we never can wholly realize the nobler possibilities that are latent in us all.

HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN.

THE SHORTER LATIN POEMS OF
GEORGE BUCHANAN

1506-1582

Poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps.—HENRI ESTIENNE

Buchananus unus est in tota Europa, omnes post se
relinquens in Latina poesi.—JOSEPH JUSTUS SCALIGER

Tela quatit fera barbaries: tu, Scotia, scuto

Mundum atque humanas protege munditias.

—FRANZ BUECHELER, 1906.

IT IS usually the fate of "modern" Latin poetry to be neglected by classical scholars and students of vernacular literature alike, even though the works of many a Renaissance Latinist are of considerable importance. One such Latinist is George Buchanan,¹ poet, educator, courtier, religious reformer, satirist, historian, political theorist, and tutor of Mary, Queen of Scots, and of her son, James VI and I.

Of mixed Highland and Lowland stock, Buchanan was born near Killearn in Stirlingshire, about the beginning of February, 1506. It is stated by all his biographers—without a shred of confirmatory evidence—that he was related to the powerful Lennox family and hence to Lord Darnley, as well as to George Heriot, the "Jingling Geordie" of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel*. His first schooling was probably at Dumbarton or Glasgow. The contemporary statutes of the Aberdeen Grammar School—a school still very much alive—give an idea of the type of instruction which probably obtained in the South country as well as in the towns north of the Highland Line: they enacted that the boys must learn arithmetic, that the chief authors to be read were Terence, Vergil, and Cicero, and that the boys were strictly forbidden to use the vulgar tongue—i.e., *guid braid Scots*—but were to use only Latin, Greek, Hebrew French, or Gaelic, the last of which languages would not be used in the schools of the Lowlands, although Buchanan himself spoke Gaelic.

¹ The name means "the parson's son." In the sixteenth century it was variously written as Buchanan, Bucquhanane, Buchquhanan(e), Buchquhannen, Balquhannen, and (probably) Buquihan(n)ane.

Buchanan's uncle, James Heriot, impressed by the boy's talents, packed him off, at the ripe age of fourteen, to study at the University of Paris, where there was a Scots College founded in 1325 and claiming at this time more than two hundred Scottish students. Here Buchanan studied for two years, spending almost all his time in the study of Latin verse-composition; but before he could take his degree, Heriot died, and this, as well as his own illness, forced the boy's return to Scotland. Here, after a year's rest, probably at Cardross, he studied logic under the renowned scholastic, John Mair or Major, at St. Andrews,² finally taking the degree of Bachelor in 1525. In 1527 he received an appointment as a bur-sar in the Scots College in Paris, and graduated as Master in 1528. In 1529 he was appointed to the faculty of the Collège de Ste. Barbe, which, of all the fifty-odd colleges of the University of Paris, was the most receptive to the New Learning. His duties appear to have been onerous enough, but his stipend was at least sufficient to keep ends together.

After three years at Ste. Barbe, Buchanan returned to Scotland in 1531 to become tutor to the young Earl of Cassilis. It was at this period that his troubles with the Church began. In his days as regent—i.e., instructor—at Ste. Barbe, he had produced a number of Latin verses and epigrams on subjects more or less innocuous. But now he wrote the *Somnium*—an adaptation of William Dunbar's *How Dunbar was desyrit to be ane Freir*—and two mock palinodes, violent attacks on the Franciscan order. These outbursts brought upon Buchanan the wrath of Cardinal Beaton in particular, and were the cause of an exile of more than twenty years' duration. Despite the opposition of James the Fifth, no lover of the Franciscans, the Church finally decided in 1539 that Buchanan should be silenced.

Accordingly, after a brief period of imprisonment, Buchanan fled to England, to Paris, and finally to Bordeaux, where he was appointed to the staff of the Collège de Guyenne. It was during his 'three years' residence at Bordeaux that Buchanan first met that swashbuckling phenomenon of philology, Julius Caesar Scaliger; the Italian and the Scot struck up an acquaintance, ex-

² Not at Aberdeen, as the article on Buchanan in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ed. 14) has it; this article contains a number of inaccuracies.

changed poems, and remained fast friends for the rest of their lives.³ At this time, too, Buchanan composed four plays: the first two were Latin translations of Euripides' *Medea* and *Alcestis*; the second two were original dramas, *Baptistes sive Calumnia* and *Jephthes sive Votum*. To this period, too, belong many amatory and occasional poems, *jeux d'esprit*, and two formal Latin odes. Even to Bordeaux, however, the wrath of Cardinal Beaton pursued the satirist. A letter was sent to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, demanding Buchanan's arrest, a letter which, fortunately, was intercepted by friends. Buchanan left Bordeaux, however, for reasons not altogether clear, in late 1542 or early 1543.

Buchanan's movements in the next five years are, in detail, at least, quite uncertain. In 1544 he was probably a regent at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine in Paris, where he had as colleagues Turnèbe and Muret. After a serious illness, he left Paris in 1545, and in 1547 was invited by André de Gouvêa, former principal of the Collège de Guyenne and brother of Jacques de Gouvêa, principal of Ste. Barbe, to teach at the University of Coimbra in Portugal, recently founded by King John III. But in 1548 André died suddenly. Diogo de Gouvêa, uncle of André, had been dispossessed of the principalship, and was determined to regain his position. Accordingly, with other Portuguese scholars, jealous of the regents imported by André, he urged the Holy Office at Lisbon to investigate the orthodoxy of the newcomers. The result was a veritable invasion of the University by the Commissioners of the Inquisition. For his unlucky satires, and for various indis-

³ The younger Scaliger's epitaph on Buchanan is significant of the high repute in which he was held in Scotland, France, Portugal, England, and Italy:

postquam laude tua patriam meritisque besti,
 Buchanan, tui solis utrumque latus,
 contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
 ventosaeque fugax ambitionis, obis,
 praemia quina quater Pisaenae functus olivae,
 et linquens animi pignora rara tui,
 in quibus haud tibi se anteferent quos Italia vates
 terra dedit nec quos Gallia mater alit.
 aequabunt genium felicitis carminis, atque
 orbis habet famae conscia signa tuae.
 namque ad supremum perducta poetica culmen
 in te stat, nec quo progrediatur, habet.
 imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes,
 Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.

The final couplet of this poem appears in the Buchanan memorial window in Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. Buchanan was buried in Old Greyfriars Churchyard, but the exact spot is not known.

creet utterances and acts at Coimbra and elsewhere—he had, for instance, eaten meat on certain days of abstinence—Buchanan was imprisoned in a monastery, there to be instructed by the monks in true doctrine. It was now that he composed the *Desiderium Lule-tiae*, one of his best poems, and a version, in various classical meters, of the Psalms of David, a version which was still in use as a schoolbook in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century.

Buchanan was finally released—in the *de Vita Sua* he says that the monks were not ill-disposed, but quite ignorant of religion—and, after a very brief sojourn in England, returned to Paris in 1553, where for two years he was a regent in the Collège de Boncourt. After this he entered the household of the Maréchal Charles du Cossé, Comte de Brissac, as tutor to his son Timoléon, then twelve years of age; this tutorship Buchanan held for five years, finally returning to Scotland, after his long exile, in 1561. Ten years later Timoléon du Cossé was killed at the siege of Mucidan; in his memory Buchanan composed the most ambitious of his poems, the *de Sphaera*, a treatise on Ptolemaic astronomy planned in five books, of which the last two were never completed.

In Scotland he was welcomed at the court of Queen Mary, where he acted as a sort of poet-laureate, writing Latin masques, epigrams, *strenae*, etc., and acting, too, as translator of Spanish documents into French, Latin, or English. He was also tutor to the young queen; no doubt their love for France proved a common bond.

While in the service of de Brissac, Buchanan had devoted himself to a critical study of the Scriptures, and had gradually turned to the teachings of the New Religion. On his arrival in Scotland he became a Protestant; in 1563 he was a member of the Assembly, and in 1567, Moderator, the highest position in the Kirk of Scotland.⁴ Yet Buchanan's relations with the Catholic Queen Mary remained cordial until the Darnley murder, for he was, although a Scottish Protestant, anything but a zealot: Buchanan and Knox parallel Erasmus and Luther.

In 1566 Buchanan was appointed principal of St. Leonard's College in the University of St. Andrews, a college which was a

⁴ Buchanan was never ordained, but this is a formality on which the Scottish reformers appear to have laid little emphasis.

stronghold of Protestantism and in which John Knox was much interested. Of Buchanan's administration we have little information, save that he distinguished himself both as scholar and teacher.

In 1567 occurred the death of Darnley. Three months later, Queen Mary, an accessory to the crime, married the Earl of Bothwell, her former husband's murderer. Mary had disgraced the Scottish nation in the eyes of Europe, and the enmity she stirred up among her people was as great as her former popularity: one of her enemies was George Buchanan. Basing his accusations on the Casket Letters, Buchanan attacked the Queen bitterly in the *Detectio*, a philippic which had much to do with Mary's final deposition. In 1568 he accompanied the Earl of Moray to London to lay charges before Elizabeth. Here he became intimate with Lord Cecil and with Elizabeth's teacher, Roger Ascham.

Very shortly Mary was deposed and imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle, and later in England; her son was crowned King James the Sixth, with Scotland's strong man, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, as Regent. Buchanan was appointed tutor to King James, a position which he held from 1570 to 1578. He was expected not only to make his pupil a scholar but also to train him to become the ideal king; but for once Buchanan failed as a teacher, for the Stewart doctrine of divine right did not emanate from his teachings. Buchanan himself believed in the limited constitutional monarchy, as we see from his *De Iure Regni apud Scotos*; the ideas expressed in this dialogue appear trite today, as they are accepted as axiomatic in the democracies, but to an age of absolutism they were dangerous: two years after Buchanan's death the book was banned, banned again in 1664, and a third time in 1688, after it had been publicly burned by the University of Oxford in 1683, along with the political writings of John Milton. Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, a work which occupied the last twenty years of his life, was also banned in 1584.

In 1582 Buchanan died at the age of 76, penniless, but in time to avoid imprisonment for sedition; on his deathbed he was approached by the macer of the Court of Session with a summons: "Tell the men who sent you," said the dying scholar, "that I am being summoned to a higher Tribunal."

The above may seem a long introduction to the shorter poems of George Buchanan, but discussion of these, if not prefaced by some indication of the wider interests and activities of the man, might give the impression of dilettantism on his part. But Buchanan was anything but a wealthy literary trifler; he remained a poor scholar to the very end. As Moderator of the Scottish Church he proved his administrative ability, as he did in his principalship of St. Leonard's; and here, as in France, his reputation as a teacher stood high. His influence on his contemporaries as poet, scholar, historian, and political theorist was extensive and remarkable: we find quotations, oblique references, or laudations in Thomas Sackville, George Gascoigne, Abraham Cowley, John Milton, Sir Philip Sidney, Andrew Marvell, John Stow, Robert Wedderburn, John Napier of Merchiston, Alexander Hume, Thomas Dekker, John Marston, Nicholas Grimoald, George Witzel, Nicodemus Frischlin, Thomas Kirchmeyer, Hubert Languet; and, among those who were primarily classical scholars, Andrew Melville, Theodorus Beza, Joannes Serranus, Florent Chrestien, Peter Daniel, the Scaligers, Adrien Turnèbe, Janus Doussa, Philip de Marnus de Aldegonde, Joannes Sturmius, Roger Ascham, Grotius, and Salmasius. If Buchanan's zeal for religious and political reform was not of John Knox's dramatic and publicity-seeking type, yet he had the courage in an age of absolutism to oppose the Stewart doctrine of divine right in his *de Iure Regni apud Scotos* and his *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*: the *de Iure* became, in the seventeenth century, a veritable Bible for those who, in Scotland and England alike, were struggling for political rights against the Stewarts.

After his return to Scotland in 1561, Buchanan wrote little poetry, being engaged in problems of education and politics; most of his poems were written between 1529 and 1561. During this time they had circulated in manuscript from one person to the next; but after 1561, at the insistence especially of Pierre Montauré and Henri des Mesmes, a good many were published at various times.⁵ Much of this verse is extremely miscellaneous, but

⁵ The *Miscellaneorum Liber* was not published until 1677, almost a century after his death; of his prose vernacular works, the *Chamaeleon*, an attack on Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, was not published until 1710.

it may be classified roughly as amatory verse, nature-poetry, patriotic verse, satires, and occasional verse of various kinds.

Buchanan never married, and, as far as we know, never contemplated marriage; the Phyllis, Amaryllis, Neaera, etc., of his erotic verse are all imaginary. The love poems are simply exercises in Latin verse-composition, no more. This is not to say, however, that they are mechanical exercises in prosody, for some—notably those to Neaera—are graceful, witty, and attractive. Neaera's chief characteristic was perversity:

illa mihi semper praestanti dura Neaera,
me quoties absum, semper abesse dolet.
non desiderio nostri, non maeret amore,
sed se non nostro posse dolore frui.⁶

Here, in a similar strain, is a variation on Catullus' *odi et amo*:

quantum delicias tuas amabam,
odi deterius duplo ampliusque
tuam nequitiam et procacitatem,
postquam te propius, Neaera, novi
.
quod si sis melior modestiorque
odero minus et minus te amabo.⁷

Quite different are the poems addressed to Leonora, for which Buchanan has at one time or another been rather severely criticised. They are of the unpleasant type of some of Horace's epodes, expressed in the language of the gutter. But these productions should be accepted for what they are, not made the sport of the prurient or the scandal of the *unco guid*. The humanists of the day felt themselves obliged to imitate *all* classical models; these are just such literary exercises. But one example will probably be sufficient for most stomachs:

miniata labra, sordidae creta genae,
hiatus oris indecens
rictu canino, putridi dentes, pares
mammarum caprinis utribus,

⁶ *Epigrammata* 1, 31; I have numbered Buchanan's poems according to the order in which they appear in the Edinburgh edition of 1677, the only one at present available to me. Spelling and punctuation have been altered here and there.

⁷ *Hendecasyllaborum Liber* 3, verses 1-4, 13 f.

laciniosi gutturi deformitas,
 sulcique laterum pinguium,
 crassoque venter extumens abdomine,
 ego vos amavi? bracchiis
 fovi refovique, et fatigavi meis
 viscata labra basiis?

 ergo pudendis liberatus vinculis
 meique iuris redditus
 Sanctae Saluti sospitatrici meae
 et has catellas ferreas
 monimenta duri serviti et tabellulam,
 hanc sanitatis indicem
 per eam receptae, et memoris animi pignora,
 dono, libensque dedico.⁸

Nature poetry is occasionally to be found in Buchanan's verse, or incidental passages dealing with nature. Of such poems quite the best is *Kalendae Maiae*,⁹ probably written in Bordeaux, of which Wordsworth, in writing to a nephew, said, "I think Buchanan's *Kalendae Maiae* equal in sentiment, if not in elegance, to anything in Horace."¹⁰ One is not to assume from the Lake poet's approval that Buchanan's poem was a forerunner of the Romantic Revival; on the contrary, Buchanan's enthusiasm was aroused not by the rugged beauties of his native country but by the cultivated lands around Bordeaux: for him, the "beauties of nature" are the orderly beauties of a nature that has been trimmed and set to rights by man. The poem itself is well worth quoting in full:

Salvete, sacris deliciis sacrae
 Maiae Kalendae, laetitiae et mero,
 ludisque dicatae iocisque
 et teneris Charitum choreis.
 Salve, voluptas et nitidum decus

⁸ *Idyllon Liber* IV, 11, 1-10, 21-28.

⁹ *Misc. Lib.* 11. Note *dicatae* in line 3: false quantites, one must admit, are surprisingly frequent in Buchanan's work. Some of them are excusable because of the condition of the *textus recepti* of the day, but some—the present, for example—could easily have been verified.

¹⁰ Christopher Wordsworth, *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*, II, 466; the poem was a favorite of Samuel Johnson. For Buchanan's love for the Gascon countryside, cf. *Misc. Lib.* 9, verses 1-4 (*ad iuventutem Burdigalensem*) and especially *Frates Fraterrimi* 28 (*adventus in Galliam*).

anni recurrens perpetua vice,
 et flos renascentis iuventae,
 in senium properantis aevi.
 Cum blanda veris temperies novo
 illuxit orbi, primaeque saecula
 fulsere flamenti metallo
 sponte sua sine lege iusta,
 talis per omnes continuus tenor
 annos tepenti rura Favonio
 mulcebat, et nullis feraces
 seminibus recreabat agros.
 Talis beatus incubat insulis
 felix aerae perpetuus tepor
 et nesciis campis senectae
 difficilis querulique morbi.
 Talis silentum per tacitum nemus
 levi susurrat murmure spiritus
 Lethenque iuxta obliviosam
 funereas agitat cupressos.
 Forsan supremis cum Deus ignibus
 piabit orbem, laetaque saecula
 mundo reducet, talis aura
 aethereos animos fovebit.
 Salve, fugacis gloria saeculi,
 salve, secunda digna dies nota
 salve, vetustae vitae imago
 et specimen venientis aevi.

Although encomia of Scottish scenery are lacking, there is no doubt that Buchanan was a patriotically perfervid Scot. When he used the vernacular,¹¹ it was Scots, not English; when Mary married the Dauphin in 1558, Buchanan looked on it as condescension

¹¹ Buchanan's vernacular writings appear in the *Publications of the Scottish Texts Society*, No. 26 (*The Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan*, ed. by P. Hume Brown, Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1892.) A typical example is the following extract from the regulations governing degrees at the "Universitie of St. Andros":

At the end of the first ij zeiris thay salbe maid bachelairis, quhair nocht only they sal declair publicly quhat thai haif profetit be their industrie and labouris, bot alsua thay sal ansuer privatly to liij examinatouris, deput be the universite of the dialectic, logic and moralis; and quha beis nocht fund habile, salbe deposit to ane lower classe. And siklik, at the end of the zeir and half followyng, to be examinat of the natural philosophie, metaphysik, and mathematik. The examinatouris salbe graduat, ane in theologie, ane that has red in philosophie, and ane of profession of medicine passit maister, and ane regent in humanitie; quha, on their conscience, sal declair to the rector and censouris quha ar worthy of promotion or not. Efter the quhyk declaration, the rector sal decerne the onworthy to be deposit for tyme convenient to ane inferiour classe, swa that na man be admittit to resave degre except that he haif promouit in lettres. . . .

These regulations frequently refer to the undergraduates as "the bairnis."

towards France. The *Epithalamium* which Buchanan composed for this occasion reads in parts like a patriotic hymn:

Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,
cingere venatus saltuom, superare natando
flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et aestus,
nec fossa et muris patriam sed Marte tueri,
et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam,
polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri
numen amicitiae, mores, non munus amare

...
solaque gens mundi est cum qua non culmine montis,
non rapidi ripis amnis, non obice silvae,
non vasti spatiis campi Romana potestas,
sed muris fossaque sui confinia regni
munivit. . . .

...
neve putes duri studiis assueta Gradivi
pectora mansuetas non emollescere ad artes,
haec quoque, cum Latinum quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
sola prope expulsis fuit hospita terra Camenis

... sine milite Scoto
nulla umquam Francis fulsit victoria castris.¹³

Satire is the vehicle with which one ordinarily associates Buchanan's name, and it is here, perhaps, that he is most successful. Some of his satirical epigrams are mere literary exercises, echoes of Martial, although excellent of their class:

frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, laedis;
nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.¹⁴

There may have been a real personage to whom the name of Zoilus was attached, but we cannot be positive. In all probability, it is a verse exercise, as the following most certainly is:

Omnia quod, Leonora, putant te vendere, falsum est:
nam faciem, tibi quae cetera vendit, emis.¹⁴

But the great majority of the satirical poems are directed against actual persons, named or unnamed, of whom the latter would no

¹³ *Silvae* iv, 11, 172-178, 191-195, 216 f.

¹⁴ *Epigr.* i, 12.

¹⁴ *Epigr.* i, 17.

doubt be instantly recognizable to such persons as the poems reached. Like most Renaissance scholars, Buchanan quarreled with his contemporaries; the following is directed against Estienne Dolet:

carmina quod sensu careant mirare Doleti?
quando qui scripsit carmina, mente caret.¹⁶

Buchanan's old teacher, John Major, had described himself as *maior* in name only; Buchanan, who regarded him as a footling quibbler on half-understood Aristotelian logic, pounced upon the pun in the following:

cum sateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,
nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat,
nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.¹⁶

Many of his satirical poems are directed against the clergy of the day. Some are more or less good-humored, as the *de Monachis S. Antonii*, written at Bordeaux. The brothers of St. Antony here were permitted to raise pigs without having to pay a tax on each animal; taking full advantage of this, they fairly filled the monastery with pigs, and did a roaring trade at cut-rate prices. As might be expected, the monastery grew more and more malodorous, until it became a menace to the city's health. The magistrates endeavored to end this situation, and Buchanan ably seconded them with the following:

Diceris, Antoni, porcos pavisse subulcus
vividus, adhuc monachos lumine cassus alis:
par stupor ingenii est, ventrisque abdomen utrisque,
sorde pari gaudent, ingluvique pari.
Nec minus hoc mutum pecus est brutumque suillo,
nec minus insipidum, nec minus illepidum.
Cetera conveniunt, sed non levis error in uno est:
debuit et monachis glans cibus esse tuis.¹⁷

This is not complimentary, but it is not vicious, like this epigram on Julius II:

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 64; cf. I, 46, where Dolet is called *insanus*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 51.

¹⁷ *Fratres Fraterrimi* 22.

Genua cui patrem, genetricem Graecia partum
 pontus et unda dedit, num bonus esse potes?
 fallaces Ligures et mendax Graecia; ponto
 nulla fides. In te singula solus habes.¹⁸

Worse still is the epigram on Popes Paul, Clement, and Julius:

paedicat Paulus, contemnit foedera Clemens,
 sacrilega tractat Iulius arma manu.
 et quisquam sceleris nomen formidat inane,
 auctores scelerum qui videt esse Deos?¹⁹

Yet this is Christian charity itself compared with the unprintable attacks in some poems of the *Fratres Fraterrimi* on the sensuality of the many unworthy priests of the time.

The poverty-stricken scholar has usually been the subject of the scorn of the wealthy, and Buchanan was no exception: some friend, on achieving wealth, had cut his earlier acquaintance, imagining that with the fine raiment he was now a new and different man:

falleris; hanc et ovis, qua tu nunc veste superbis,
 ante tulit, nec adhuc est aliud, nisi ovis.²⁰

Most interesting of the satirical poems is the first of the *Elegiarum Liber*,²¹ written while Buchanan was a regent at Ste. Barbe. It is the perennial cry of the tired teacher: he describes in vivid detail the difficulties of getting a good night's sleep amid the din of Paris (vss. 31-34), the dull routine of classwork and the difficulties of keeping order (39-44), the inattention²² of a certain type of student (49-53), the annoyance of parents when the teacher fails to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear (75-78), poverty, the scholar's constant companion (81-88), and the realization that old age would not mend matters (99-102). The last couplet (105-106) indicates that the poem was written just before Buchanan left St. Barbe to return to Scotland as tutor to the young Earl of Cassilis:

¹⁸ *Fr. Fr.* 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Epigr.* 1, 20, 5 f.

²¹ The poem is entitled *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae*; it was translated into French rhyming couplets by the Angevin poet, Joachim du Bellay (1525-1560). Du Bellay also translated another of Buchanan's poems, the *ad Henricum II Franciae regem de soluta urbis Mediomatricum obsidione* (*Misc. Lib.*, 8).

²² One is described as writing a letter in class, a practice not yet extinct.

Ite igitur, Musae steriles, aliumque ministrum
quaerite; nos alio sors animusque vocat.

But it was not so much the *Musae* to which he bade farewell as the soul-destroying life of the academic drudge.

Among the occasional poems are *strenae*, *icones*, *Valentiniana*, poems of compliment, and epitaphs. The *strenae* are poems accompanying a hogmanay gift; the practice was not confined to Scotland, as the word *étrenne* shows.²³ Most of them were written while Buchanan was at the Scottish court. A typical example is the following, addressed to the Queen:

Ut mihi magna tuae fortunae munera reddas,
accipe fortunae munera parva meae.²⁴

Similar are the lines addressed to the Earl of Moray:

Sera, Iacobe, quidem sunt parvaeque munera nostra.
hac in re vitium si quod inesse putas,
ne sectare meam, sed contra corrige culpam,
et cito sed larga munera redde manu.²⁵

A witty specimen is addressed *ad discipulos*; it ends with a request for payment of fees to the professor, hence it was probably written in France, since this system did not obtain in Scotland:

Mos vetus est Iani dare mutua dona Kalendis,
annus ut auspicio prosperiore fluat.
et mihi quae possim dare tantum verba supersunt,
sed nostrum nemo vult sibi verba dari
nil dare non fas est, vanum est dare verba: quid ergo
restat? verba dari qui sibi nolit, emat.²⁶

Most of the *strenae* end with a request of one sort or another, and are little more than begging letters. The scholar who was not on a regular teaching staff could do little else, for he was usually dependent on a patronage never any too reliable. For his work at the court Buchanan received an annual stipend of £125 Scots (i.e., about £10 sterling); theoretically, too, he controlled the income of the abbey of Crossraguel in Ayrshire, but payment of the stipend was neither prompt nor certain, while the Earl of Cassilis,

²³ Properly, of course, *strena* refers to the gift itself, but is transferred in meaning.

²⁴ *Epigr.* III, 2. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 7. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 4.

uncle of Buchanan's former pupil, now dead for a number of years, contested the possession of the abbey and its temporalities. Hence one of the finest scholars of Europe had to lower himself before men who did not at all measure up to Maecenas. The following sour but clever epigram is directed at some *Episcopus indoctus* who had proved ungenerous:

Carmina portanti, praesul, tua ianua clausa est;
munera portanti ianua tota patet.
Praesulis ergo tenes perfecti munera solus,
quippe animo cuius munera sola placent.²⁷

No doubt the patron frequently resorted to equivocal gifts:

Das inopi dives, sed qualia reddere possit
munera; nonne hoc est dicere "redde mihi"?²⁸

The *icones* are brief verses placed on pictures intended, no doubt, for various rooms in Holyrood. The one for a painting of Venus is neat, with an echo of Lucretius and the tone of Ovid:

Alma Venus, rerum genetrix hominumque voluptas,
curarum requies, publicus orbis amor,
hi quoque, qui tetricis invadunt crimina verbis,
vultu dissimulant, dissimulant et amant.²⁹

Besides verses for paintings of pagan gods³⁰ and goddesses, there are some for paintings of conventional figures like Time,³¹ literary characters,³² and historical personages.³³ Among contemporary figures appears Queen Mary:

Ut Mariam finxit natura, ars pinxit; utrumque
rerum et sollertis summum opus artificis.
Ipsa, animum sibi dum pingit, sic vicit utrumque,
ut natura rudis, ars videatur iners.³⁴

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 58.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 41.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 47 (Dido).

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 49 (Alexander the Great).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 53; similar verses appear for paintings of Marguerite of Navarre (II, 56) and Queen Elizabeth (II, 58). The antithesis in the lines quoted above is a commonplace of *strenae*: on a print of Albrecht Durer's engraving of Melanchthon (Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.*, II, 264) appears the following couplet:

Viventis potuit Durerius ora Philippi,
mentem non potuit pingere docta manus.

More than one scholar's name appears; the following is for a painting of Laurentius Valla:

Quid celebras Marios, Curios, fortemque Camillum,
miratrix veterum, Martia Roma, ducum?
Omnibus iis egit potioem Valla triumphum:
unde tuus cuncta in saecula vivet honos.³⁵

Not all, however, are complimentary; the following lines describe England's Bloody Mary:

Sum Marie, mala grata patri, mala grata marito,
caelo invis, meae pestis atrox patriae;
nulla aberat labes, nisi quod fuit addita custos
fida pudicitiae forma maligna meae.³⁶

Similar to *strenae* are *Valentiniana*, brief poems attached to St. Valentine's Day gifts. In the manner of Venantius Fortunatus, Buchanan sent flowers to one of the Queen's four Maries, Mary Fleming, with the following trim verses attached:

Accipe quos fetus tibi fertilis educat annus,
Flaminia, o aevi flosque decusque tui,
non capiti ornatum: neque enim splendescere pulcher
externi cultus munere vultus eget;
sed magis ut noscas, ubi ver aspexeris anni,
quam cedant veri tempora verna tuo.³⁷

Renaissance humanists quarreled in print with a ferocity scarcely paralleled in literature—classic examples are Julius Caesar Scaliger's *pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum Orationes duae*, and the second book of George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, wherein the Welsh antiquary, Humphrey Lloyd, is mercilessly attacked, but they could be as complimentary to their friends. In the 1677 edition of Buchanan's poems appear laudatory verses addressed to Buchanan by both the Scaligers, Adrian Turnèbe, Georg Fabricius, Henri Estienne, Theodorus Beza, Andrew Melville, and others. A number of such poems by Buchanan himself appear; typical is the one addressed to the elder Scaliger:

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 51.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 57.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 47.

Dum nunc nivalis Aquilo constringit gelu
 lapsus rapaces fluminum,
 nunc densus Auster vallium declivia
 nimiis inundat imbribus,
 pedesque glacie vel vacillant lubrica,
 vel in profundo haerent luto,
 cunctos levabat spes labores unica,
 doctum videndi Iulium.

.
 quamvis laboris omnis ingratisimi
 sint plena, res mihi unica
 magis molesta est ceteris molestius
 non intueri Iulium.³⁸

The one addressed to Guillaume Budé is similar:

Sunt universi splendor orbis Galliae,
 et Galliarum splendor est Lutetia,
 splendor Camenae sunt sacrae Lutetiae.
 Budaeus ornat unus innocentia,
 splendore vitae, litteris, sollertia,
 orbem, Camenas, Galliam, Lutetiam.³⁹

While in London, in 1568, Buchanan made friends with, among others, Roger Ascham. On one occasion Ascham sent him a present of a book, attaching thereto an *honorificum elogium et sui amoris significatio*, in all probability in verse. Buchanan replied in the following lines, more conventional than the ones just quoted, being in elegiacs;

Amplector, Rogere, tuum vehementer amorem,
 et nimii doctum pignus amoris amo.
 Nec minus est animus genitor mihi gratus amoris,
 quaeque animum virtus ornat amatque tuum;
 nec minus est gratus magni comes error amoris,
 et nimio fetum pectus amore mei;
 et cum cuncta probem, virtutem munus amorem,
 et nimio caecum pectus amore mei,
 absque errore meo vellem fas esset amare
 errorem de me, dulcis amice, tuum.⁴⁰

Among the epitaphs are purely literary exercises, as the one on

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 49, 1-8, 19-22; this was written while Buchanan was a regent at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

James the Fourth, who died when Buchanan was only a few years old; the verses are of the most conventional type:

Fama orbem replet, mortem fors occulit; at tu
desine scrutari quod tegat ossa solum.
Si mihi dent animo impar fata sepulcrum,
angusta est tumulo terra Britannia meo.⁴¹

Some, however, show how Buchanan outlived his closest friends. For André de Gouvêa, the Portuguese scholar, he had conceived the liveliest admiration, both at the Collège de Guyenne and at the University of Coimbra. De Gouvêa died after a few days' illness in 1548. Buchanan's funerary verses, cast in most conventional form though they are, are not the made-to-order mourning of the King James epitaph:

Alite non fausta genti dum rursus Iberae
restituis Musas, hic, Goveane, iaces.
Cura tui Musis fuerit si mutua, nulla
incolet Elysium clarior umbra nemus.⁴²

Buchanan's one-time pupil, the young Earl of Cassilis, was one of the commissioners representing Scotland at the marriage of Mary of Scotland to the Dauphin, in 1558. He never returned, for, along with two other commissioners, he died at Dieppe, poisoned, it was generally believed, by the Guises. Buchanan believed in the poisoning report, as we can see from the epitaph he wrote to his young friend's memory:

Hic situs est heros humili Gilbertus in urna
Kennedus, antiquae nobilitatis honos,
Musarum Martisque decus, pacisque minister,
et columen patriae consiliumque suae,
occidit insidiis fallaci exceptus ab hoste
bis tria post vitae lustra peracta suae.
Parce, hospes, lacrimis et inanem comprime luctum;
non misere quisquam, qui bene vixit, obit.⁴³

Rather more conventional are the epitaphs on Anne Walsingham,⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 18; when Buchanan writes *genti Iberae restituis Musas* he is not using the language of empty compliment, for André's predecessor at Coimbra, Diogo de Guovêa, had made a poor showing.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 9.

⁴⁴ *Misc. Lib.* 27.

wife of Thomas Randolph, English Resident at the Scottish court, and on Roger Ascham.⁴⁵

Enough of Buchanan's shorter verse has been quoted to show his easy mastery of the technical side of the poets' trade. But he had more than a mere aptitude for the mechanical tricks of Ovidian prosody and style; he thought in Latin as easily as in the vernacular, and, like the other humanists of the day believed that Latin would remain the standard literary language of Europe. It is frequently said that the Renaissance men killed Latin as a living tongue; no doubt they did: they wished to substitute classical for mediaeval Latin as the world-language. But if the "living tongue" is the monkish jargon of the *Liber Pluscardensis*, it was better dead; Buchanan's *Kalendae Maiae* is living Latin, combining poetic power with graceful literary form. The professed medievalist will prefer the *Epistulae Obscurorum Virorum*, but as Juvenalian attacks on monkish degeneracy the *Somnium*, the palinodes, and above all the *Franciscanus* can more than hold their own.

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⁴⁵ *Epigr.* II, 27.

VARRO VERSUTUS

EVEN the contemporaries of Marcus Terentius Varro, who were not unused to the union of scholarship with action, regarded his achievement as portentous. His public functions were manifold, for he filled the tribunate, vigintivirate, quaestorship, aedileship, and possibly other offices, commanded an army in Germany, served as one of Pompey's *legati* in Spain during the Civil War, directed a fleet commissioned to suppress piracy, and by Caesar's appointment became supervisor of public libraries at Rome. In private life, he owned and administered large country properties, and made a success of breeding horses. His scholarship was encyclopedic: besides major works in the fields of satire, antiquities, the Latin language, the liberal arts, farming, and philosophy correlated with history, he composed poems, speeches, letters, annals, treatises on civil law and geography, and monographs on grammar, drama, libraries, and *imagines*.

Of this vast corpus nearly everything has perished. The only works which survive, except in quotation, are the three-book *Res Rusticae*, complete except for the end of the Introduction of the second book, and books v-x of the *De Lingua Latina*, their text badly corrupted in transmission. The disappearance of all but this scanty residue may be attributed to a combination of causes: the style, which did not win favor; the incorporation of content into other authors by excerpting or epitomizing; and loss of interest in the antiquarianism to which Varro was devoted.

Since the legacy to modern times is so incomplete, it is unfortunate that the work which best displays his range of interests and versatility, the *Res Rusticae*, lacks readers. Varro's reputation as a polymath suggests pedantry, and a technical work on farming has little appeal. But the volume will reward the intrepid. The subject was congenial to its author, who both knew and loved the land. Manner, as well as matter, create an unexpectedly favorable impression.

It is only fair to admit that not everyone will read the *Res Rusticae* with pleasure. Inevitably, its vocabulary is specialized, and

its content, though as varied as the theme admits, suffers by being removed from the experiential background of most classicists. Again, in the quest for system, Varro's presentation often shows the skeleton of its structure. For instance, the second book, which deals with *pecora*, follows rigorously an outline of scholastic completeness:

Ea partes habet novem, discretas ter ternas, ut sit una de minoribus pecudibus, cuius genera tria, oves capra sus, altera de pecore maiore, in quo sunt item ad tres species natura discreti, boves asini equi. Tertia pars est in pecuaria quae non parantur, ut ex iis capiatur fructus, sed propter eam aut ex ea sunt, muli canes pastores. Harum una quaeque in se generalis partis habet minimum novenas, quarum in pecore parando necessariae quattuor, alterae in pascendo totidem; praeterea communis una (II, 1, 12).

The nine sub-divisions, enumerated in succeeding sections, deal with the selection of animals on the basis of (a) age, (b) appearance, (c) pedigree; purchase, pasturage, breeding, feeding, health, and the total and relative numbers which should comprise the herd.

The same mania for division reveals itself in the discussion of the four aspects of agriculture: the character of the estate and its soil, the tools needed for farming it, the operations required, the season for performing each task (I, 5, 3); each divided again, the first into those matters concerned with the land and those concerned with the house and farm-buildings, the second into questions pertaining to men and those pertaining to implements, the third into problems of equipment and of locale, and the last into application of solar or lunar reckoning (I, 5, 4).

Whatever the gain in thoroughness, it must be granted that such excess of system becomes tedious. Yet what is a defect from the standpoint of literature may well have appeared a virtue to seekers after information. In reading Varro one need not search, as often he must in the *Georgics*, for the key to the sequence or concatenation of ideas.

Uncompromising foes of the pun will certainly take exception to the humor of the *Res Rusticae*. Most of Varro's learned jokes are linked to the preoccupation with etymology which he always displays. They can almost be anticipated from the names which he gives to his interlocutors. Into the first book, which treats of the tilling of the soil, he introduces C. Fundanius, C. Agrius, P. Agra-

sus, C. Licinius Stolo (the etymology is given in I, 2, 9); into the second, concerned with the breeding and pasturage of animals, Cossinius, Murrius, C. Lucilius Hirrus, Cn. Tremellius Scrofa, Vacius, and Q. Modius Equiculus; and into the third, which deals chiefly with birds, fish, and bees, Pinnius, Cornelius Merula, Fir-cellius Pavo, Minucius Pica, and M. Petronius Passer. Some of these gentile names, such as Cossinius, Murrius, and Hirrus, are of unknown or disputed provenance, but the great majority are obvious.

Axius, for instance, asks Appius, who is surrounded by Pavo, Pica, and Passer, whether he may join his aviary (III, 2, 2). After Pavo's departure, Axius remarks that unhampered discussion of peacocks may now go forward, since Pavo might have been expected to contest any aspersions upon them because of family relationship (III, 6, 1). Tremellius Scrofa is badgered into telling the history of his surname by the expected assertion that he should be best qualified to discuss swine (II, 4, 1-3).

Other witticisms not directly dependent upon names are concerned with the appearance or departure of characters, or with a shift in subject. For example, Stolo asks whether he has arrived too late for the feast (of reason), and is told that not only has the egg not been taken down which marks the last turn on the race-track, but that they have not even seen the egg which constitutes the first course at dinner (I, 2, 11). Quintus Lucienus, entering as sheep-culture is under discussion, addresses Varro as ποιμένα λαῶν (II, 5, 1). When he returns after a short absence, he says that he will open the *carceres* and release the horses (II, 7, 1). Agrius expresses the fear that the temple attendant will return before they get to the vintage (I, 26). Again, he says he has been sitting in the farmhouse waiting for Stolo to bring in the crops; Stolo declares that he has arrived at the threshold, and bids Agrius open the doors (I, 56). Cossinius, putting an end to the discussion of sheep, laughingly declares that Atticus has bleated long enough, and asserts that he will show how to handle briefly the topic of goats, regarding which he is as well informed as the Homeric Melanthius (II, 3, 1).

However, the defects of the work are greatly outweighed by its merits. Not the least of the latter is the medium in which Varro

worked, namely the Aristotelian dialogue. Compared with the bald exposition of Frontinus or Vitruvius, or with the generality of technical treatises, the charm is instantly apparent. And in lucidity, as well as in evenness, the prose dialogue shows its superiority to verse for a didactic theme.

Each book is prefaced by an epistolary introduction. The first is addressed to his wife Fundania, and apparently was meant to be a general introduction to the entire treatise; but the second and third books have separate dedications to Turranius Niger and Pin-nius respectively. They are all written in a style so natural that they seem spontaneous conversations, until the transition to the dialogue occurs. This transition is made early in the first book, for the invocation to the *dei Consentes* (I, 1, 4-7) and the list of authors of handbooks on agriculture (I, 1, 8-10) belong really to the main subject-matter. In the other two cases, the informality is maintained longer, and the reader obtains a good portrait of the old man (he was eighty when he began the volume) as he expounds his convictions regarding country versus city life, the Graecisms of Rome and the Romans, farms of the old-fashioned sort compared with the *latifundia*, and the tilling of the soil as opposed to the pasturing of animals. Each introduction ends with a dedication and with a statement of the reason for addressing the book particularly to that person.

Varro's dialogue manner has been criticized as wooden, but when, or if, this criticism is valid, it is in those passages which are too clearly reduced to formula by sub-division of topics. Even then, no topic is dwelt upon at such length as to become wearisome, though one is conscious of the recurrence in a different context. He shows considerable ingenuity in devising the circumstances which assemble the characters of the dialogue and lead into the discussion. Sacrifice brings Varro to the temple of Tellus in the first book; no attendant is at hand, so there is an enforced delay while the custodian is summoned. Friends of Varro are also waiting; a map of Italy on the temple wall (a device which perhaps suggested to Vergil the scene in which Aeneas and Achates observe the carvings on the temple door at Carthage) starts the conversation regarding the fertility of that country as compared with other lands (I, 2, 1-3). The conclusion of this book is startling, for a freedman of the

custodian rushes in to tell the waiting worshipers that his patron has been murdered by an unknown assailant, and with these tidings the discussion ends and the group is dispersed (I, 69, 2 f.).

The opening of the dialogue in the second book is missing, but from the ending we may conjecture that Varro and Tremellius Scrofa had been invited to some sort of festival occasion (probably a dinner) by Vitulus and were to join him in his gardens (II, 11, 12). How the interruption to their plans was motivated cannot be deduced from the extant text. But in the third book there is a sort of dramatic plausibility. Varro and Quintus Axius have cast their election ballots; they want to be close to the scene of the voting to congratulate their candidate after the results are proclaimed, but the sun is hot, and they seek the shade of Appius' near-by villa (III, 2, 1). The dialogue ends with the announcement of the issue of the balloting (III, 17, 10).

It is interesting to see how little concern Varro has for the physical setting. There is none of that descriptive background which lends atmosphere to Cicero's *De Legibus*, for example. There was no strain of poetry in Varro's temperament. His interest was primarily in stage business, in situations, as one might expect from his studies of comedy. Not only is the occasion for the gathering or dispersal of the speakers thought out with care, but the group involved in discussion changes with surprising frequency. Unlike Cicero's static cast, Varro's interlocutors arrive at different times, interrupt to excuse their tardiness or to ask for a résumé of previous discussion (III, 12, 1), merely pass in and immediately out, to return later (II, 5, 1), or leave because of other business (III, 7, 1). This is an unexpected touch of life and makes the reader feel that he is in contact with reality. Some of the characters in the third book cannot restrain their curiosity at the shouts from the polling-place, and want to be off to investigate (III, 5, 18); the announcement later by Pantuleius Parra that Pavo's watcher has been caught stuffing the ballotbox (III, 5, 18) makes the discussion lag; and others want to cut discussion short when the herald starts to make his proclamation of the results tribe by tribe (III, 17, 1). But Varro, casting himself perfectly to type, refuses to be put off until all the promised lore is expounded.

Even if there were no record of Varro's writings on the drama,

one might discern his familiarity with the field from casual allusions. Twice, for instance, he refers to the employment of the word *sacres* in Plautus's *Menaechmi*, naming the play on the latter occasion (II, 1, 20; II, 4, 16). Again, he remarks that old men were called *diphtheriae* because of their use of goat-skin cloaks, as in Caecilius' *Hypobolimaesus* and in Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos* (II, 11, 11). This statement attributes the use of the same term to tragedy, and earlier in the second book mention is made of the story of Atreus and Thyestes, as well as of the Argonautic expedition (II, 1, 6).

From a man who could laugh at himself, as I am convinced that Varro did in the personal portrait of the third book, and who was ardently interested in comedy, the satire which enlivens his pages is no surprise. The reader will find a discussion of villas designed for use and for show (I, 13, 6 f.); a tale, which reminds one of Horace, about bringing apples bought in the city to deck out the *oporothea* of the country estate (I, 59, 2); the reflection concerning the murder of the temple custodian, that no surprise should be felt since it had occurred at Rome (I, 69, 3); comments regarding an age which depended for health upon Greek gymnasia rather than upon work and exercise, and esteemed a villa worthless unless it had a multitude of rooms designated by Greek titles (II, Introduction, 2); a contemptuous dismissal of country-folk who have "crept inside the city wall" and prefer to "use their hands in the theatre and circus rather than in the fields and vineyards" (II, Introduction, 3); the reproach that a land once self-sufficient is now fed from Africa and Sardinia, and its vintage stored in ships from Cos and Chios (II, Introduction, 3); and the jest that Appius is now passing over the subject of honey, because in his youth he was too stingy to drink *mulsum* (III, 16, 1).

A homely touch, entirely in harmony with the *genus tenue*, is Varro's use of proverbs, such as *si est homo bulla, eo magis senex* (I, 1, 1); *dei facientes adiuvant* (I, 1, 4); *Romanus sedendo vincit* (I, 2, 2); (*cogitans*) *portam itineri dici longissimam esse* (I, 2, 2); *fortasse antecum duceret serram* (III, 6, 1).

An endless source of fascination for the reader is the struggle which goes on in the author's mind between rationalism and super-

stition. In one breath he derides, in the next repeats as gospel, pseudo-scientific fancies. For example, he is impatient with the specifics of earlier writers, such as Saserna's for killing bedbugs (I, 2, 25) or for removing superfluous body-hair (I, 2, 26), or Cato's for avoiding ill effects from overindulgence in food or drink (I, 2, 28); he tells the story of the sheep-dogs which, sold with the sheep, soon returned to the distant home of their former owners, and adds ironically that they returned of their own accord, through longing for their old shepherd masters and not because the shepherds after delivering the sheep to their new owners had tossed the dogs a boiled frog, as Saserna advised one to do if he desired a dog to follow him (II, 9, 6). But he asserts with conviction that in a certain district of Spain mares and chickens become pregnant by the wind (II, 1, 19); that wolves drag pigs to a stream before eating because their teeth cannot endure the heat of the flesh (II, 4, 5); and that male offspring may be surely prophesied if a bull after mating descends on the right-hand side (II, 5, 13). With more reserve, he repeats a statement of Archelaus that goats breathe not through their noses, but through their ears (II, 3, 5).

Varro's approach to the labor problem is enlightened (I, 17, 2-7). He recommends employment of hired workers rather than slaves for heavy tasks and for all the more important farm operations. To insure that the strength of the laborers will not be overtaxed, he urges that none under the age of twenty-two be used. Overseers should be men of education and sensibility, and they should not be allowed to rule by blows rather than suasion if the more lenient treatment is effective. Deserving workers are to be encouraged by rewards, such as an increase in the allotment of food or clothing, or permission to accumulate personal property; loss of privileges is to constitute a punishment revocable on good behavior. Assignments of work should be explained to the more competent by the overseer. These recommendations reveal a social conscience foreign to Cato and a knowledge of psychology to which even Roman educators were slow in attaining.

The relief afforded by digressions in a technical work is often considerable, if they are kept within bounds, and though Varro censures irrelevant matter in handbooks on farming, he permits

himself some excursions in the *Res Rusticae*, as when he tells of special collars which protect sheep-dogs from marauding wolves (II, 9, 15), the advent of barbers at Rome (II, 11, 10), and Lucullus' whim of having live birds flying about in his dining-room (III, 4, 3). Any enthusiast over the *Natural History* of the elder Pliny will find ore from the same vein in Varro.

Many critics resent the author's penchant for giving etymologies as an intrusion of alien matter, but there is a lexicographical value in his explanation of the meanings and origins of rare words like *stolo* (I, 2, 9), *occare* (I, 31, 1), *sicilire* (I, 49, 2), *subrumi* (II, 1, 20), *italus* (II, 5, 3), and *teba* (III, 1, 6), to say nothing of the amusement afforded by flights of fancy like the connection of *porrigere* (or *porricere*) with *porca* (I, 29, 3), of *flagellum* with *flabellum* (I, 31, 3), or of *vicia* with *vincire* (I, 31, 5).

Law is another special science which occupies a position of prominence beside word-origin. In the second book, it will be recalled, purchase of animals is discussed, and the form of *stipulatio* is given for each class of beasts. The phrasing bears the stamp of genuineness; consider, for instance, the stipulation for sheep: *illasce oves, qua de re agitur, sanas recte esse, uti pecus ovillum, quod recte sanum est extra luscum surdam minam (id est ventre glabro), neque de pecore morbosum esse habereque recte licere, haec sic recte fieri spondesne?* (II, 2, 6).

This formula is followed by a discussion of the subsequent obligations of buyer and seller, and of the legal redress open to each for failure to adhere to the bargain. For goats, one is informed, the question of sound health is complicated by their addiction to fever, so that stipulation is restricted to the formula: *illasce capras hodie recte esse et bibere posse habereque recte licere, haec spondesne?* (II, 3, 5).

The stipulation for swine is notable for the unusual phrase *noxis praestari*: *illasce sues sanas esse habereque recte licere noxisque praestari neque de pecore morbosum esse spondesne?* (II, 4, 5).

Varro did not, apparently, consider himself so competent to give advice on medicine, for he simply urges the chief herder to carry written prescriptions with him and to treat diseases according to directions (II, 2, 20; II, 3, 8). For sheep, he records methods of

combating fever (II, 1, 23); for pigs, he gives only a treatment for sows unable to suckle their young (II, 4, 21); and for dogs, he lists only one recipe, designed to keep the animals free from flies, ticks, and fleas (II, 9, 14). Rather amusing is Varro's explicit insistence upon a chief herder who can read, lest he be unable to keep the accounts or to follow medical directions (II, 10, 10).

In the scope of his work Varro goes beyond his predecessors, for the third book, on *villaticae pastiones*, treats a field hitherto neglected by the manuals on farming. The subjects of his study are birds, fish, bees, and, most curious of all, snails and dormice (III, 14-16). These latter sections will repay any reader of an inquiring turn of mind, despite their brevity.

So much for the variety and the innovations of the *Res Rusticae*. But they are not its chief recommendation. For any lover of Vergil's *Georgics* there is the fascination of parallels in subject-matter and treatment, the thrill of re-discovery. The best examples may be found in the discussion of Italy's fruitfulness (*R. R.* I, 2, 6 f.; *Georg.* II, 136-150); the destructiveness of goats (*R. R.* I, 2, 17-20; *Georg.* II, 374-390); the suitability of different ground to different crops (*R. R.* I, 6; I, 9; *Georg.* I, 50-61; II, 108-135; 177-225); determination of the seasons' labors by zodiacal signs (*R. R.* I, 27-36; *Georg.* I, 204-258); influence of the moon, lucky and unlucky days (*R. R.* I, 37; *Georg.* I, 276-286); the threshing-floor (*R. R.* I, 51; *Georg.* I, 178-186); qualities to be sought in cattle and horses, their nurture, training, and breeding (*R. R.* II, 5, 7-16; II, 7; *Georg.* III, 49-178); and bee-culture (*R. R.* III, 16, 4-38; *Georg.* IV, 1-285). Nor is the Varronian version without merit apart from the comparison. It contains many an apt simile or metaphor, many a happy phrase, is exalted by patriotic sentiment, and reveals a contagious enthusiasm as well as an expert's knowledge.

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NOTES

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PICTURESQUE WAYS OF ESTIMATING AND SUGGESTING THE SIZE OF HUGE ARMIES

In the formal tables of weights and measures developed by the Greeks and Romans each denomination has an individual and a relative value. The history of the changes by which common objects gave their names to standard units of measure is fascinating,¹ but many methods of computing that never became parts of a system are not less interesting. In this paper I am bringing together examples not only of ingenious ways to count large bodies of men, chiefly armies, but also of picturesque comparisons and descriptions that create an impression of large size far more realistically than big numbers do.

Before beginning to list the Greek contingents in the multitude that sailed to Troy, Homer says that, without the aid of the Muses, he would not be able to enumerate them, not even if he had ten tongues and ten mouths, a tireless voice, and a heart of bronze (*Iliad* II, 488-492). A little earlier in the same book (459-461), where he is less rhetorical, he compares the hosts that poured forth upon the plains of the Scamander to flocks of geese or cranes or swans beside the streams of the Cayster.² The Achaeans were also as numerous as the leaves³ and flowers in springtime (468) or as the persistent flies that hovered about the milk pails of the

¹ Much curious lore of counting may be found in E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (New York, 1889), I, 240-272.

² For Vergilian echoes of these lines cf. *Aeneid* VII, 698-705; x, 264-266.

³ Cf. a passage in *The Destruction of Sennacherib*, by Lord Byron:

Like the leaves of the forest when Summer is green
That host with their banners at sunset were seen;
Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strown.

herdsmen at the same season (469-473). Iris likens the Achaean host to both leaves and grains of sand (II, 799 f.).⁴

Another immense host, that of the Persians under Xerxes, stirred the imagination of the ancients so much that they vied with one another in contriving ways to suggest its immense size. In the *Persae* (126) Aeschylus likens the Persian army to a swarm of bees,⁵ but Herodotus (VII, 56) conveys the idea of hugeness far more effectively by saying that seven days and seven nights of unceasing marching were required for it to cross the bridge of boats over the Hellespont. The Persians themselves adopted a wholesale method of estimating their number, for they made a circular enclosure large enough to hold ten thousand men at a time and so counted their army by myriads (Herodotus VII, 60).⁶

A graphic way of indicating the number of the Persians is given by Herodotus in Book VII, where he catalogues their drinking feats. He says that they drank dry all but the largest rivers (21), and he specifically mentions the Scamander (43), the Melas (58), and the Liris (108).⁷ The Onochonus in Thessaly and the Apidanus in Achaia were the only streams in these two countries that kept flowing (196).

A matter-of-fact statement by Justinus (II, 10, 19) records that the Persians under Xerxes were so numerous *ut non immerito proditum sit . . . Graeciam . . . omnem vix capere exercitum eius potuisse*.

There was still another way of suggesting the size of the Persian host. A Thracian told the Spartan Dieneces that the flight of the

⁴ Roman writers frequently made *harena* signify a multitude of things. Cf. the references in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. *harena*, section 2. Incidentally, the passages indicated show that the words *stellae*, *sidera*, *flores*, *folia*, *racemi*, *fluctus*, *pisces*, and *aves* were used in similar fashion.

⁵ Cf. *iuvenum recens examen* as applied to Romans by Horace, *Carmina* I, 35, 30 f. On August 15, 1944, at least three war correspondents reported that American forces "swarmed" over the beaches of southern France. We also read of "bombers swarming like bees" and of "swarms" of airplanes, tanks, landing craft, and other things.

⁶ Long after the days of Xerxes, Darius III imitated his method of counting an army (Curtius III, 2, 2 f.): . . . et circumdato vallo quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum iniit. Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut discripta erant, intravere vallum.

⁷ Cf. Diodorus Siculus XXXVII, 1, 2; Juvenal x, 176-178; Justinus II, 10, 19.

Persian arrows at Thermopylae was so heavy as to obscure the sun.⁸ The witty reply, "We shall fight them in the shade and not in the sun" (Herodotus VII, 226),⁹ was too good to be monopolized by one man, and so the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Vespae* 1084) attributes it to Leonidas.

In giving the disposition of the vast Persian forces just before the battle of Arbela, Curtius remarks (IV, 12, 9) that some tribes were almost unknown to others.¹⁰ He adds (20): *Multitudo inundaverat campos*,¹¹ *fremitusque tot milium etiam procul stantium aures impleverat*.

The Greeks had a comic word, *ψαμμακόσιοι*, "sandhundred," to denote a multitude. Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 3) expanded it to *ψαμμακοσιογάργαροι*.¹² These formations remind one that in the Bible great populations are frequently compared to the number of the stars in the heavens and the sands of the sea.¹³ A representative verse is Genesis 22, 17: "That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore . . ."

The population of Scythia was so large that no exact figures were available to Herodotus (IV, 81). When King Ariantas wished to find out how many subjects he had, he ordered each one to bring him an arrowpoint.

According to Plutarch,¹⁴ two kings, Agis II (or Agis III) and

⁸ Cf. also Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* I, 101; Seneca, *De Constantia Sapientiae* 4, 2. In current war news we read of bombers "blackening the skies" and of "clouds of airplanes." The following prophecy appeared in the *New York Times* on June 19, 1944: "Eventually the skies of Japan will be dark with American planes."

⁹ Cf. John A. Scott, "The Spartan Repartee in Herodotus VII, 226," the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* X (1914-15), 178.

¹⁰ Xerxes' cosmopolitan host reminds one historian of an ethnological museum. Cf. C. W. C. Oman, *A History of Greece* (London, 1901), 192.

¹¹ Cf. a sentence in Anne O'Hare McCormick's column in the *New York Times*, July 5, 1944: "The great blitz in reverse is described by Soviet reporters as a wide river of men and metal rolling over the prairies like a flood."

¹² Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* V, 20, 11-14, and also the notes on *Acharnians* 3 in W. J. M. Starkie's edition of this play.

¹³ Cf. any concordance of the Bible under "sand" and "star." Catullus 7 is interesting in this connection.

¹⁴ *Moralia* 190 D, 215 D; Lycurgus 20, 4. For an interesting anecdotal story in which the seeds of the pomegranate are a standard of measurement cf. Herodotus IV, 143 and Plutarch, *Moralia* 173 A.

Archidamus,¹⁸ made the same reply on being asked how many Spartans there were. They answered: "Enough to keep all evil men away."

Latin literature gives many examples of ways to suggest a multitude of things, but, apparently, not many concern armies. A Greek writer, Plutarch, states in his *Life of Marius* (18, 1) that the Teutones whom the Romans defeated at Aquae Sextiae required six days to pass their camp.

In A.D. 269 a fabulously large horde of Goths invaded the Roman Empire. In spite of exaggeration, Trebellius Pollio (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Claudius* 6, 6) seems to feel that bare figures are not an adequate means of impressing the reader with their numbers, and so he has recourse to additional standards of measurement: *Trecenta viginti milia armatorum fuerunt. Adde servos, adde familias, adde carraginem et epotata flumina consumptasque silvas, laborasse denique terram ipsam quae tantum barbarici tumoris exceperit.*

A Roman army under Claudius II met and defeated these great Gothic forces in the neighborhood of Naissus, in Dardania. Two sentences that he included in a letter (*ibid.* 8, 4 f.) written after the battle may be quoted here to illustrate the gory method of suggesting large numbers: *Tecta sunt flumina scutis, spathis et lanceolis omnia litora operiuntur. Campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter purum est, ingens carrago deserta est.*

A modern expedient somewhat similar to that of the king of the Scythians was resorted to nearly a century ago by the rajah of the island of Lombock, off the eastern end of Java. He had not been getting the full head tax of rice from his subjects and, consequently, wished to take a census without letting them know what he was doing. With much guile he informed the priests, princes, and chief men that the great spirit of a mountain

had commanded that twelve sacred krisses [Malay daggers] should be made, and that to make them every village and every district must send a bundle of needles—a needle for every head in the village. And when any grievous disease appeared in any village, one of the sacred krisses should be sent there; and if every house in that village had sent the right number of needles, the disease

¹⁸ Presumably the father of Agis II.

would immediately cease; but if the number of needles sent had not been exact, the kris would have no virtue.

The rajah thus ascertained the correct number of his subjects and the amount of rice to which he was entitled.¹⁶

In Iran (Persia) nomadic tribes of the present day count their strength by rifles (men) and tents (families).¹⁷ Their migrations are shown in the thrilling moving picture called "Grass."

The river-drinking feats of the Persians are recalled by a passage in Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 19, 121:

Ma non aspettar già che di quell'oste
L'innnumerabil numero ti conti.
I' vidi ch'al passar le valli ascoste
Sotto e' teneva e i piani tutti e i monti:
Vidi che dove giunga, ove s'accoste,
Spoglia la terra, e secca i fiumi e i fonti;
Perché non bastan l'acque alla lor sete,
E poco è lor ciò che la Siria miete.

An old and a new method of conveying the idea of large numbers may be found in *Paradise Lost*. Milton tells us that the fallen angels of Satan's forces are

Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa (I, 302-305).

A little farther on (338-346) he describes them as being

Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day
Waved round the coast, up-called a pitchy cloud
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile;
So numberless were those bad Angels seen
Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires. . . .

As might be expected, the New World provides interesting exam-

¹⁶ A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan, and the Bird of Paradise* (New York, 1869), 122.

¹⁷ Merian C. Cooper, *Grass* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 125.

ples of ways to compute the size of military forces. An ingenious device employed long ago by natives of the West Indies is recorded by Washington Irving, *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (Vol. II, Book 8, Chap. 6). In 1494 harsh treatment of those on Isabella Island (now Crooked Island) by the Spaniards caused them to take up arms, and Columbus led an expedition against them.

The Indians, who were little skilled in numeration, and incapable of reckoning beyond ten, had a simple mode of ascertaining and describing the force of an enemy, by counting out a grain of maize or Indian corn for every warrior. When, therefore, the spies, who had watched from rocks and thickets the march of Columbus, came back with a mere handful of corn as the amount of his army, the caciques scoffed at the idea of so scanty a number making head against their countless multitude.

Coming now to the history of our own country, we find the Homeric comparison of the number of men in an army to the number of leaves on trees dramatically enacted in an event that took place in New York during the Revolution. The following paragraph describes a clever ruse devised by Benedict Arnold in the summer of 1777 to outwit a British officer:

St. Leger had been sent to take Fort Schuyler, thence to ravage the Mohawk Valley and join Burgoyne's army at Albany. General Arnold being dispatched to relieve that fort, accomplished it by a stratagem. A half-witted Tory boy, who had been taken prisoner, was promised his freedom, if he would spread the report among St. Leger's troops that a large body of Americans was close at hand. The boy, having cut holes in his clothes, ran breathless into the camp of the besiegers, showing the bullet-holes and describing his narrow escape from the enemy. When asked their number, he mysteriously pointed upward to the leaves on the trees. The Indians and British were so frightened that they fled precipitately, leaving their tents and artillery behind them.¹⁸

A woodcut that illustrates this story shows the alarm aroused in the camp of the enemy as a ragged boy points to the leaves on a tree.

¹⁸ *A Brief History of the United States* (New York and Chicago, 1880), 122. This is a grammar-school textbook that I studied in the nineties. I am not at all concerned with the credibility of the story, which, it seems, is not repeated by authors of recent textbooks.

World War II, in which many aspects of warfare are constantly being exemplified on a scale unprecedented, has given us still another method of indicating the vastness of a military force. We do not know the size of the American army in England, but one correspondent cabled that the island was slowly sinking under the weight of the armament. Another report was far more circumstantial:

... These islands [the British Isles] now hold the greatest arsenal in history, and the puzzle is how, in an area of one good-sized American State, already crowded with their own war equipment, troops, and airdromes, they have found room for all the men and supplies we are importing. In fact, the American troops jokingly assert that England has sunk into the sea six inches since they began arming, and that if it were not for the barrage balloons holding it up it would sink from sight altogether.¹⁰

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¹⁰ The *New York Times*, March 12, 1944.

BOOK REVIEWS

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

BONNER, S. F., *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnasus*, "Cambridge Classical Studies": Cambridge, at the University Press (1939). Pp. 108. \$2.00.

The task that the author gives himself in this small volume is to examine minutely the critical works of Dionysius of Halicarnasus with a view to showing how Dionysius developed as a critic in the course of his work. The book itself is a very good example of the critical method and arrives at clear judgments on the progress made by the critic, even though the author finds that Dionysius never totally got rid of the defect of criticizing an author according to rules previously formulated.

The work begins by giving some consideration to the literary atmosphere into which Dionysius came for his earliest studies. Dionysius' work is addressed, the author thinks, to a cultivated literary circle, the members of which probably interchanged literary documents (p. 5), with a view perhaps to receiving criticism and perhaps to enjoying mutual commendation. The author identifies, as well as evidence will allow, the persons to whom Dionysius addresses his works—Ammaeus, Pompeius Geminus, Q. Aelius Tullius, Demetrius, Metilius Rufus, Caecilius of Calacte, and others. He notes their differences as well as agreement in point of view. From this he passes to a consideration of Dionysius' own aim in prosecuting his study of the Greek orators (for he confines himself to the orators chiefly and introduces others—notably Plato and Homer—only from the point of view of the orator).

Demosthenes, as the author points out, was Dionysius' passion. By the standard of Demosthenes' excellence he measured

everything else in literature. His earliest work was devoted to establishing the genuineness or spurious character of speeches that circulated under his name. In this his aim was twofold, the establishment of accuracy and truth and the promotion of good citizenship. For the study of Demosthenes and Isocrates was, he thought, a powerful agent in building up good morals and good citizenship. And, while service to the state was his major aim, he desired also to combat the pernicious influence of "Asianism." To this end Dionysius studied not only Demosthenes but the great mass of Greek literature in all spheres.

In order to make possible an understanding of Dionysius' development the chronological sequence of his works has to be established. From both external and internal evidence the author is able to deduce the following order for the rhetorical writings: 1) *De Imitatione* 1 and 2; 2) *De Lysia*, *De Isocrate*, *De Isaeo*; 3) *Ep. ad Ammaeum I*; 4) *De Demosthene* cc. 1-33; 5) *De Compositione Verborum*; 6) *De Demosthene* cc. 34-end; 7) *Ep. ad Pompeium*; 8) *De Thucydide*; 9) *Ep. ad Ammaeum II*; 10) *De Dinarcho*. These works the author divides into essays of the first, second, and third periods.

A survey of the essays of the first class shows that, when he composed these, Dionysius measured a literary piece by rules that had been set for some time by the schools; those of the second class show the critic more free with specific criticism of diction, arrangement, and subject matter; in those of the third class Dionysius makes comparisons with other literary monuments and, by recasting sentences and phrases, shows what he considers to be a more effective style. The author, however, shows that even at his best Dionysius did not emphasize as a criterion of style the general effect that the author made on the reader or hearer.

In a work of this sort it might not have been out of place to point out a few deficiencies in Dionysius' equipment. For example, he does not seem to consider that in a comparison of Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes the difference of the sphere in which each works makes comparison almost impossible. To a modern it seems strange to compare Homer and Demosthenes and only a little less strange, Plato and Demosthenes. Again, when Dionysius would write

φασκόντων for φησάντων ἄν, he seems to disregard the nuance of meaning which the aorist with ἄν would show. As the author of this work shows, Dionysius, in his simplification of style, is likely to lose along with its difficulty a good deal of its life.

An excellent feature of this book is that it summarizes conclusions frequently and thus keeps the argument clearly before the mind of the reader.

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WESTERMANN, WILLIAM LINN, KEYES, CLINTON WALKER, and LIEBESNY, HERBERT, *Columbia Papyri*, Greek Series, No. 4; Zenon Papyri, Volume II. Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt: New York, Columbia University Press (1940). Pp. x+221, Plates VII. \$6.00.

In this volume, under numbers 60 to 118, appear the remaining documents of the Columbia Zenon collection. Four later Ptolemaic papyri are added at the end of the volume as numbers 119-122. The published papyri from the Zenon archive now total well over 1500, forming the largest body of related texts which has come down to us from the Ptolemaic period. These sheets and scraps which form the *monumentum aere perennius* of Zenon, the faithful secretary and methodical steward, take first place also for variety of subject matter, as is well illustrated in the Columbia volume. The first papyrus (60) preserves for us the title of two hitherto unknown literary works, the one a "Collection of Proxeny Treaties" by Kallisthenes (Aristotle's nephew?), and the other a "Collection of Embassies." These are welcome additions to the testimonia, since the evidence for such collections, the forerunners of source books in international law, is exceedingly scanty. In 66 the familiar figure of the abused native once more appears, begging Zenon for payment of amounts of oil, grain, and salary which are owing "in order that I may not perish of hunger." In 100 we have a list of boat gear, which, like others in the archive, illustrates Zenon's concern with the means of transport in the canals and on the Nile. Since 83 is a petition which at no point appears to touch Zenon's business or relate to persons associated with him, it brings

to mind again the possibility that Zenon may have occupied a position of authority at Philadelphia, like that of an *epistates*, even after the accession of Euergetes and the disappearance of Apollonius the dioecetes, Zenon's employer and patron.

In this volume, as in the whole archive, the most numerous items are letters, largely concerned with the business affairs of Zenon and his employer. No. 66, the letter of the mistreated native mentioned above, reflects Zenon's influence in matters affecting many of Apollonius' holdings. Zenon as benefactor figures in 64, where a former recommendation by him is said to have had good effect, and a further word of commendation is requested. He was also a courtier; 70 mentions among other topics certain stones sent by Zenon through Apollonius to Ptolemy Philadelphus, which "pleased the King very much."

Sixty-eight, though seriously mutilated, tells us of one of the accidents that might befall letters sent by messenger upon the Nile, for the message in question became so watersoaked as to be illegible. Numbers 81, 93, and 103 give us glimpses of Zenon's manifold activities. In 81, the wine in storage is probably that which Zenon and his partner Sostratus had made in their sixty-aroura vineyard. Ninety-three touches on dog-breeding, reminding us of the epitaph which Zenon commissioned for Tauron, the hunting dog which died defending him from a wild boar. Papyrus 103 is a letter from Pais, keeper of a bath which was probably owned or leased by Zenon, telling of trouble with a tax collector and with the intermittent water supply.

Next in number and importance to the letters are the accounts and lists. Of these, 75 is easily the most interesting, for it is an attempt, unique for the period, at a cost accounting designed to arrive at the annual labor cost and profit of a large agricultural establishment. The labor is classified into permanent employees (agents, servants, women regularly employed), specialists (vine-dressers), laborers hired by the month, and day laborers. Incidental expenses and costs of entertainment are included, and amount to almost one-sixth of the total of 3800 drachmas, which is then rounded out to 4000 drachmas and set against the total income (obviously also a round sum or an estimate) of 7000 drach-

mas. The difference of 3000 drachmas was first entered and then canceled out, as though the reckoner belatedly realized the importance of items like seed cost, taxes, transport, and marketing charges which, to judge from the extant portions, do not enter into the accounting.

Item 78 is a very interesting list of lessees and land holdings in Apollonius' ten-thousand-aroura estate, which gives an inkling of the system of leases and sub-leases through which Apollonius exploited part of his holdings. The two parcels under lease are of *ca.* 200 and 300 arouras, and those sub-leased vary between 18 and 25 11/16 arouras in extent. To judge by the areas occupied by irrigation works, and the relatively small surface discounted as alkaline (4 out of 123 arouras), the portion of the estate detailed in lines 2-15 was in very good condition.

Of the four later Ptolemaic papyri, 120 is an important text, a decree which outlined the procedure for registration and valuation of property in connection with a new money tax, imposed as a gift or endowment for a priesthood. Items 121 and 122, which concern the agricultural enterprises of Irene and of Leontiscus and his associates, are part of the same archive as P. Mich. III, 182, 183, 193, and 200. In connection with the Michigan documents, the editors bring forward valuable corrections and give an illuminating analysis of the archive.

The volume is an edition of the highest quality. Careful examination of the seven plates has revealed only the most trivial defects in the texts, like the failure to note certain corrections and retracings in 66 and other minor omissions commented upon by other reviewers.¹ Occasionally subjective considerations, such as the assumption that the correspondent in 66 actually wrote the letter, are used to bolster conclusions (66, 21, note). Again, the restoration *οἰκέ[τη]ν*, "household slave," raises a problem (83, 6, note), which might be avoided by reading *οἰκέ[τω]ν* "relative," "close friend."

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¹ E. M. Husselman, *C. W.* xxv (1942), 177 f.; H. C. Youtie, *A. J. P.* LXIV (1943), 213.

FREIXAS, ALBERTO, *Margenes y Estampa de Tito Livio*, Ensayo Acerca del Pensamiento de Tito Livio: Buenos Aires (1941). Pp. 315, with Index.

With the realization that the works of Livy have greatly overshadowed the man himself, Professor Freixas has undertaken the task of revealing the personality of the great Roman historian in this study, *Marginal Notes and the Character of Titus Livius*, An Essay Concerning the Thought of Titus Livius. In spite of the obscurity that has surrounded Livy, Professor Freixas is convinced that within the thirty-five extant books of the *History* are to be found definite indications of what manner of individual Livy was.

In the first of the eleven chapters of the study the author gives us general impressions of the *History* and its significance in the interpretation of Livy's character. Our attention is directed to his careful procedure in examining source material, his willingness to believe others when belief has been prompted by tradition, his longing for the older, stoic virtues of the earlier Romans compared with the decadent customs of his own day.

Throughout the succeeding chapters, and terminating with the eleventh and final chapter, we are presented with more detailed analyses of Livy's personal reactions to people and affairs. We are brought to the realization that the true Livy was a composite of the good and the bad, even as other men are. Passages are cited and commented on concerning Livy's aristocratic intolerance of the masses, his veniality, his unwillingness to see any fundamental good in his own generation. On the other hand we are provided with convincing proof of his culture, his equanimity in the face of trials, his loathing of all exaggeration, his love of valor and sacrifice. Professor Freixas is careful to estimate the worth of the passages he cites, weighing their value against the appropriate background of the customs and beliefs of Livy's times. Out of hundreds of excerpts from the *History* with the author's scholarly analysis we are enabled to get as complete an impression of this Roman as is possible aside from reliable biographical material which, of course, we lack.

Professor Freixas is Professor of Ancient and Medieval History

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CORNFORD, FRANCES MACDONALD, *The Republic of Plato*: New York, Oxford University Press. Pp. xxvii+356. \$3.00.

Ever since anthropologists usurped the word "culture," it has become the fashion in some quarters to regard the great books of Greece and Rome as nothing more than the records of particular folk memories and the special documents of western tribalism. Mr. Cornford's new translation of the *Republic* is a fresh reminder that such notions are false. The classics are still chiefly interesting for their splendid treatment of matters which are essentially timeless, rather than historical in character. No matter how familiar one is with Plato's masterpiece, one is impressed at every reading by the universal nature of the problems raised: the difference between right and wrong, the origin of justice, the purposes of education, the good society, the relationship of group and individual, the principles of human conduct, the limits to our comprehension of reality, the classification of political forms, the qualities of art, the meaning of life itself—and of death.

The variety of mighty topics is underscored by Mr. Cornford's arrangement of the text. Without impairing the unity of the dialogue, he has divided and subdivided the whole work into six parts and forty chapters. Regarding the traditional division into ten books as "an accidental expedient of ancient book-production," he has apportioned the content as one might do it for the purposes of a lecture course. This procedure certainly illuminates the structure of Plato's argument.

Mr. Cornford offers the usual apology for making a new translation of a book for which good translations already exist: the English of his predecessors has acquired associations which make it misleading. He says: "One who opened Jowett's version at random and lighted on the statement (at 549 B) that the best guardian for

a man's 'virtue' is 'philosophy tempered with music,' might run away with the idea that, in order to avoid irregular relations with women, he had better play the violin in the intervals of studying metaphysics." This is a treacherous line of thought, because words change their meanings so rapidly: if a Jowett disciple cared to match *facetiae* on this point, he might fasten upon the risible qualities already attached—at least in America—to Mr. Cornford's use of the word "wave" (pp. 152 f; 172). Any good translation—Jowett's or Cornford's—deserves to be published, whatever nonsense is made of it by change of idiom in time to come. Mr. Cornford's translation is likely to remain for many years the kind that "a cultivated person may read without discomfort." His English is always easy without being wanton: he works soap and bowls and moonshine into his vocabulary, but the tone is never flippant. He has preserved in a brilliant way the beauty of the famous images: the cave, the ship of state, the myth of Er. With perspicuous comments in the form of little essays or occasional foot-notes, he constantly relates Plato's text to the subjects of ancient and of modern thought.

Omissions are well-marked and judiciously made, especially in regard to expressions of assent. The typography is excellent—for these times, incredibly so. I have noted only the following slips: a period has fallen out toward the bottom of p. 153; an "l" on the word "long" in the note on p. 218; the same letter in the word "neutral" on p. 303; and the number to the first foot-note on p. 222.

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HINTS FOR TEACHERS

[Edited by Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of classics, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Ludi Romani

The *Ludi Romani* at York Community High School should more appropriately be called the *Ludi Votivi*, but once without consulting an authority¹ I said to the freshmen: "Let's give games, *Ludi Romani*, for our program of the Latin Club." That name is so attractive that, although we soon found that the *Ludi Romani* properly belong to September, we persist in having ours on the Kalends of March, or at whatever time the freshman program of the Latin Club is scheduled.

Much feverish activity has to precede them. First, the curule aediles are chosen, or self-appointed. This year we have three because no one of them is willing to relinquish the honor for the sake of following Roman precedent.

We decide upon the following committees: 1. Arrangements 2. Invitations 3. Refreshments 4. Insignia 5. Posters 6. Programs 7. Prizes.

The participants are the seventy members of the Latin Club and some extra freshmen whom we invite especially—namely, the lions, the trumpeters, the lictors, the slaves, and the king's harem, who are not yet members of the Latin Club. We divide the members into four competing factions on the basis of school rank. Each group has its own insignia and a class manager to select representatives for the various events. The sophomores hold actual tryouts.

Cambric, in various colors, is used for making the class flags.

¹ Cf. Sir John Edwin Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, Cambridge University Press (1925), p. 504.

The freshmen, who choose the lion as their emblem, fly a blue flag on which there is a tawny lion. The sophomores choose a golden dragon, reminiscent of Jason, I suspect, and put it on a green flag with purple diagonals. The juniors choose a white owl on a red flag, and the seniors have a green eagle on a gold flag.

The Insignia Committee of freshman girls make arm bands of crepe paper. The armlets correspond in color scheme with the flags. They make the armlets of an 8"×3" strip in the basic color with an 8"×1" strip in the applied color. Between the two pieces they place a twisted strand which they sew in place for the ties. The result is colorful, and the band is relatively secure.

The aediles decide upon and post the list of events for the games. Next, the managers post the names of contestants. We urge the managers to see to it that they assign all the members of their respective factions.

The Prize Committee meets for many afternoons and makes "laurel" wreaths of cardboard and green crepe paper to crown the victors. While these paper wreaths are not prickly, nor heavy, nor expensive, they do create by their disintegration a very ludicrous appearance when the perspiration trickles in green down the foreheads of the victors.

We scale the refreshments to the amount of money we wish to spend and find nine dozen sticks of assorted candy at ten cents per dozen are commensurate with our budget.

Freshman girls collaborate in making posters—one can draw, another can print. We have on one poster a horse and charioteer suggested by the well-known mosaic "Charioteers of the Four Factions of the Circus," and we have a centaur resembling the "Centaur of the Capitoline Museum." These with the flags and arm bands add good cheer to the Latin room for days beforehand.

For arrangements we are fortunate in having a gymnasium—once an auditorium—that is admirably adapted to our purpose. The stage is a perfect *pulvinar* for the magistrates and their party. The consuls and vestal virgins sit in the front row. Advantageously placed at the center are the aediles with the public address system at their table. The *pontifex*, the visiting king with his retinue, and a few mothers occupy the remaining posts of honor. The gymnasium floor is the arena.

Souvenir programs give *sempiterna memoria* to the consuls, *pontifex*, aediles, and vestals.

When the freshmen really discover that Roman games are in essence a votive offering, they decide that theirs properly belong to Minerva, by whose sapient guidance they have earned membership in the Latin Club. A senior who is familiar with the fifth book of the *Aeneid* comes into the deliberation, and they decide to make the offering to Jupiter—*et quid Iove maius habemus*²—as well as to Minerva. This senior volunteers to officiate as *pontifex*; writes his dedicatory address in Latin; and, at the proper time to climax the parade, slays with Entellan stroke the sacrificial plaster bull. We wish we were the owners of a herd of cattle, a drove of hogs, and a flock of sheep for sacrifices, but these we can borrow from the window display of a local butcher.

The aediles choose the athletic events from a book on sports and games.³ Any feasible contests are sufficiently appropriate, yet I feel that in these selections the personnel of the club as well as Roman history should be kept in mind. The names of the games are Romanized. Preliminary preparation includes securing, painting, and marking the equipment for the races, as it is difficult for judges to determine the winners if all the entrants throw white javelins and white discuses.

The magnificent parade from the Capitoline to the arena is a most enjoyable feature of the celebration. The consuls with their lictors, the vestals, and *pontifex* lead. The inert bull has to be drawn on a little wagon by a slave. The aediles follow. There are not enough lictors, so they have none. The guest king, with his harem of beautiful freshman girls in foreign costumes, comes next. There is a pink elephant, which last October was a prize-winning Hallowe'en costume. There are three lions—high-spirited, fiery freshman boys in masks secured from a dramatic publishing company. Finally, come the four factions of the contestants, spectacular in their insignia, and heralded by a trumpeter.

Lastly, I find myself servilely carrying equipment which others have forgotten, but the riotous fun makes the burden light.

² Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 62.

³ Cf. Charles Frederick Smith, *Games and Game Leadership*: Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1932.

Interest in the *Ludi Romani* reaches its climax in the chariot race. The chariots are large hemp bags, imported from Guatemala, with window sash cord tied to them for traces. Two boys draw each chariot and the charioteers are girls. All contestants should wear gymnasium shoes, while slacks or gymnasium suits are the required dress for girls.

For a finale, the aediles plan to throw a presumptuous freshman boy to the lions. Perhaps he has had oracular guidance; he does not attend the games. Then they declare that one of the seniors is to be forced into the arena for an outrage committed at the Roman Banquet. He fends for his very life. All the Romans are wide awake. I fear a fatality!

At last the aediles announce the winning faction and rank the other three. They give the laurel wreaths and review the victors. The meet closes.

"*Ludi Romani* are almost as good as the Roman Banquet," the freshmen tell me. "Why not just as good?" I ask. "Oh,—the food."

For the *Ludi Romani*, we at York would say: they provide two hours of good entertainment, they cost very little, and they make it possible for a hundred people to share actively in a Latin Club dramatization. The wearing of Roman costumes puts the participants into a holiday mood, and a program like this is of such a nature that most of the members can be actually engaged in helping. We know that the interest our students take in the Latin Club is directly proportional to their participation in its activities. Moreover, the *Ludi Romani* can be adapted to any situation, so it is a project worth considering.

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Plautus and Composition

Among the listings in the Latin Departments of most colleges are to be found courses in Roman comedy. More often than not Terence is the author selected for the initial venture into this field, probably because he is considered easier than Plautus. As might be expected, some students find Terence's variety of the *sermo cotidianus* rather difficult at first, probably because the idiom is different

from that previously encountered. Usually the syntax causes little difficulty; it is mainly the large vocabulary of unfamiliar words which serves as a stumbling block. It is unfortunate that none has ventured to publish a visible vocabulary edition of Terence such as Clyde Pharr's edition of Vergil. Such a volume would facilitate the study of Terence for a beginner and relieve the tedium of consulting the lexicon for many relatively rare words.

When the same student has read both Terence and Plautus, he usually prefers Plautus. Whether it is because Terence is too subtle or too sophisticated or because his plots seem dull and do not contain sufficient action, Plautus usually seems to have more appeal. There is good fun and plenty of movement in the plays and enough spice to make one anticipate the following scenes. Time never hangs heavy on the class that is reading the *Mostellaria* or the *Amphitruo*. Unfortunately, however, the fun to be derived from Plautus is usually denied to the average college freshman who has had three years of high-school Latin. That bugbear, prerequisites, makes Plautus accessible only to students of junior or senior standing, persons who would be taking any Latin course at that point to satisfy major or minor requirements. There can be no doubt that if entering college freshmen knew some of the contents of Latin literature, the enrolment in our courses would be higher. Today, when we are competing with every department in the university for students, the best way to attract students, students who are qualified to take advanced college courses in Latin but who decide not to do so "because I have had enough Latin," is to make the subject matter of the freshman course so interesting that a student will feel that he has missed something if he doesn't take Latin. An elderly gentleman recently remarked in my presence that the most beautiful prose that he had ever read was the *De Senectute* and that the most beautiful poetry was Horace. The time has come, however, whether we like to recognize that fact or not, when the beauty of prose and poetry will not sell a Latin course to the average freshman. The Latin curriculum must be of such a nature that the student who comes sampling will return for more. Which combination is more attractive for seventeen- and eighteen-year-old freshmen, *De Senectute* and Livy, or Plautus' *Mostellaria* and *Captivi*?

Someone may object that Plautus is too hard for freshmen: the vocabulary is difficult; many words that were left unexpressed because of the rapid nature of the dialogue have to be supplied. Both these objections are valid, but it lies with the teacher to ease the student over the rough spots. It is just as easy to give assistance in these matters—what instructor hasn't explained Latin puns?—as to give an adequate philosophical background for the comprehension of the allusions in *De Amicitia* or *De Senectute*. The reading pace will of course have to be determined by the students' ability, and probably two plays will be all that can be covered in a semester.

There are several advantages to reading Plautus in the freshman year. The instructor who plans to present during the course of the year a history of Republican literature will find that Plautus' plays serve admirably as an introduction to the field. The influence of Hellenism, the beginning of literary activity at Rome, are all topics bound up intimately with even a cursory study of Plautus. There is enough literature on these and connected topics to provide a sufficient amount of supplementary work. On the linguistic side, the differences between Plautine and Ciceronian usages are interesting enough to most students so that a careful perusal of the introductory remarks on that subject, which are to be found in most editions of the plays, will create a genuine interest in the historical aspects of grammar and word study. A simple discussion of the phenomenon of linguistic change often arouses curiosity.

A course in Plautus, or Terence either for that matter, provides unexcelled material for conversational Latin. That theme has been developed by several people recently, and it seems to be a good way in which to stimulate a certain type of student. The ability to speak a language always gives one a sense of mastery which he may not otherwise have. But the *sermo cotidianus* of comedy, particularly of Plautus, lends itself very well to work in composition. In a recent course in Plautus, I made up 175 English sentences, most of which were rather short, to illustrate either idioms or constructions. In some instances Plautine usage varied from that of Cicero, in which case it was beneficial to write the same sentence in both styles. Emphasis by contrast seemed to be effective. The

sentences were drawn directly from the text, with some alterations. It was convenient to give a group of ten or eleven sentences based on a certain 60 or 70 lines of the play. One student remarked that in searching for the particular sentence necessary, she had to re-read the entire passage. Sometimes combining parts of two different Latin sentences made a more interesting English sentence. But the basic idea behind this exercise, which was given as supplementary material and not as a special course, was to make the student see how Plautus would phrase the sentence. Plautus, not the dictionary and grammar, was the reference book.

Some of the more interesting sentences, adapted from the *Moscellaria*, are herewith presented: he's a city slicker and he'll win the prize; I'll have someone bring the food today to you in your room; I've served my term in the army; I enjoyed that shower and rub-down; humor me, Baby (one student wrote: *mihi morem gere, Infans*); since it's spent for her sake, I'm glad I don't have any dough; from deep in the heart of me I love you; toothless old hags are perpetual daubers; shall we fall into a clinch; I don't want you to crack up; I always forget to turn out the light; you level your guns at me the moment you come; that's a hot one, I can feel the heat from here; he'll kill us with his yammering; if we'd been stung on the house deal, we couldn't renege; you're not going to take me in.

Although these sentences are not the traditional type of material for Latin composition, and although I should hesitate to recommend this type of thing as a steady diet, nevertheless the language is such as one might hear today; and for that reason it has an appeal which composition normally does not have. The more vivid and colorful the sentences to be turned into Latin, the easier the student remembers the construction or idiom involved. The secret of the success of this sort of composition is that it is based on the *sermo cotidianus*, but it is good Latin; and I believe that it will have an appeal, if Plautus is offered to freshman students, that will be hard to match.

DONALD W. PRAKKEN

Indiana University

CURRENT EVENTS

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; John N. Hough, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Kevin Guinagh, Eastern State Teachers' College, Charleston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth, and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Kansas—Sterling College and the Classics

Some time ago the editor had an interesting correspondence with Arthur W. Calhoun, Professor of Sociology and Dean at Sterling College, who also teaches Greek. This combination of functions is quite unusual and so, it would appear, is Professor Calhoun. We are therefore appending the major part of his letter:

I think, however, that you are expecting too much of the great men of old. Short of divine inspiration I can conceive of no process by which they could rise superior to the society that gave them birth and nurtured them—superior to the extent, that is, that would make them oracles for our day. I am paying them no more disrespect than I pay to Sir Thomas More or John Milton when I neglect to derive from their works a program for post-war reconstruction (of either the individual personality or the social order).

As far as overemphasis on society goes, I am desperately anxious to salvage some modicum of individuality from the overwhelming Leviathan that is gobbling us all up now. If I could look to Stalin or Hitler or Roosevelt for such salvation, the situation would be even simpler than if I had to revert to Alexander or Julius or Augustus. If, however, the brilliance of Bertrand Russell or Thomas Mann show no promise for the salvation of the individual, neither do I expect to find it in Aristotle or in Euripides. It is a bigger and more fundamental thing than that.

My quarrel with the special pleading for the classics is that the pleaders tend either to general hero worship or else to an even broader assumption, namely, that there is such a thing as absolute truth about human conduct—truth that can be discovered irrespective of time, place, and circumstance, and applied with the same disregard of context. It seems to me that such is a mechanistic notion inapplicable in an organismic universe. If I study the history of sociology, it is not in order to find the big answers in

Mandeville, or Adam Smith, or Comte, or even Spencer, but in order to see the path by which contemporary thought has come. Whether the personages were great and good men or even wise men is a minor matter. Likewise, there is room for classical study, but such study is only belittled if it is made to pivot on admiration.

Indeed, no sensible "value" can be put on any man that will make him timeless, and it is more credit to a man to say that he was an adequate representative of his times than to try to twist him into an oracle for quite other times. One need not blame Plato and Aristotle, neither is there any need to canonize them. The sensible thing to do is to take them for what they were; and it is worth while to study the classics in order to come out with that sort of results.

Of course I do not belittle literary appreciation; but that is scarcely where the controversy lies, unless someone ventures the hypothesis that the ordinary student's ostensible literary appreciation of the Greek and Latin classics consists mostly in pride over his own smartness at getting a faint glimmering of the original. Recently I read most of Euripides' plays in Greek, and with considerable personal satisfaction, but the few times I have attempted to take students through that sort of material have been rather trying all round, though not without certain cultural benefits.

I still maintain that it is never legitimate to try to "build up a department" in the sense that professors mean when they use the words. Nevertheless about twenty per cent of our college students at Sterling are taking Greek or Latin. We make no more effort to enlist students in the sociology classes than in any other. I doubt whether it occurs to any Sterling student that the classics suffer any sort of discrimination.

To be sure, I do occasionally advert to the absurdity of Francis Galton's deification of the Periclean Athenians, and I suggest that the blind glorification of the ancient classics that appears in the British upper-class tradition is basically self-pride at the fact that they have achieved a badge of ostensible culture that ordinary folk can't afford. I do not believe, however, that the case for the classics is weakened by being treated realistically rather than sentimentally. At any rate, my whole emphasis here as dean is on preserving liberal-arts education and avoiding the clamor for utilitarian subjects. The president backs me up in that policy. In sociology, my emphasis is all cultural, with no courses in social work or any other "practical" field. I even offer a course on the Sociology of Art—a course given nowhere else as far as I know. I am determined, also, that our economics, shall develop along cultural lines, with avoidance of "business" courses. My stress is on integration of personality and of society, and we are trying to save the individual from stereotyping and conformity.

In my judgment, you will help the case for the classics if you refrain from all argument as to their advantage and publish articles fascinating enough to make the advantage appear as a matter of course.

Yours sincerely,
Arthur W. Calhoun

Tennessee—R. B. Steele

R. B. Steele, Professor of Latin Emeritus at Vanderbilt University, died December 12. He was eighty years old, and for a good many years had not been able to participate greatly either in teaching or in the activities of the Tennessee Philological Society. But those of us who had the pleasure of knowing Professor Steele some twenty years ago appreciated him highly as a very

dynamic personality, the guiding spirit, in fact, for many years, of the Tennessee Philological Society. It was largely he who made this society one of the best in the United States. Like most men of colorful personality, Steele won the distinction of a nickname, and the older graduates of Vanderbilt had many stories to tell about "Tootsie." And so his old students showed their appreciation of his personality by the nickname they gave him, while we who worked with him for years in the classical field knew him as an excellent scholar and good friend. We shall all miss him.

E.T.

Actus Homericus

At Shadowbrook in the Berkshires on December 17, three of the young men studying the classics presented the *Iliad* for English rendition and literary exposition. In the literary exposition the four elements of poetry were treated, as well as Homer's versification and style. Questions from the invited guests supplemented the special questions proposed by a chairman, on the principles governing narrative poetry, and on plot, character, motivation, structure, and dramatic qualities. The last point was graphically illustrated in the dramatized version of the *Iliad*, presented in the afternoon, and, as you might suspect, the play was a climax for the morning's exhibition. The production was in three acts, all written in heroic meter by two students. There was even a Shakespearean touch in the rhyming couplet at the close of each scene. Both *actus* and play met with an enthusiastic response from the visitors, encouraging us to hope that the script will soon make its appearance in print for the use of schools and colleges.

W. M. ABBOTT, S.J.

RECENT BOOKS¹

[Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University]

- BODMER, FREDERICK, *The Loom of Language*: New York, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. (1944). Pp. x+692, illustrated. \$3.75.
- BOWRA, C. M., *Sophoclean Tragedy*: New York, Oxford University Press (1944). Pp. vi+384. \$6.50.
- CHERNISS, HAROLD, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy*, Vol. 1: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1944). Pp. xxvi+610. \$5.00.
- DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER M., *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting*, "Yale Classical Studies," Vol. ix: New Haven, Yale University Press (1944). Pp. xvi+233, 25 plates. \$3.00.
- FAIRCHILD, ARTHUR H. R., *Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme*, "The University of Missouri Studies," Vol. xix, No. 2: Columbia, Mo., University of Missouri (1944). Pp. 145. \$1.50.
- HARSH, PHILIP WHALEY, *A Handbook of Classical Drama*: Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press (1944). Pp. xii+526. \$4.00.
- LEBEL, MAURICE, *L'enseignement et L'Etude Du Grec*: Montreal, Fides Press (1944). Pp. 261.
- LINFORTH, IVAN M., *Soul and Sieve in Plato's Gorgias*, "University of California Publications in Classical Philology," Vol. xii, No. 17. Pp. 295-314: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1944). \$.25.
- LLOYD, SETON, *Ruined Cities of Iraq*: New York, Oxford University Press (1944). Pp. 78, illustrated. \$1.25.
- LUTZ, CORA E., *Dunchad Glossae in Martianum*: Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press, Inc. (1944). Pp. xxx+68. \$1.50.
- MAAT, WILLIAM A., *A Rhetorical Study of St. John Chrysostom's De Sacerdotio* (Doctor's Thesis): Washington, The Catholic University of America Press (1944). Pp. vi+85.
- THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *Greek Painting*: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1944). Pp. 24, illustrated. \$.25.
- MUELLER, GUSTAV E., *The World as Spectacle*: New York, Philosophical Library (1944). Pp. 207. \$3.00.
- POWERS, ALFRED, *Hannibal's Elephants*: New York, Longmans, Green & Co. (1944). Illustrated. \$2.25.
- RIDER, FREMONT, *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library*: New York, Hadham Press (1944). Pp. xiii+236, frontpiece. \$4.00.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

- SMITH, WILLIAM BENJAMIN, and MILLER, WALTER, *The Iliad of Homer*: New York, Macmillan (1944). Pp. xv+565. \$3.75.
- TOLLES, DELIGHT, *The Banquet-Libations of the Greeks* (Doctor's Thesis): Ann Arbor, Mich., Edwards Brothers, Inc. (1943). Pp. vii+114.
- VARIOUS AUTHORS, *Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of Alexander M. Drummond*: Ithaca, Cornell University Press (1944). Pp. viii+472, front-piece. \$4.50.
- WILLIAMS, JAY, *The Counterfeit African*: New York, Oxford University Press (1944). \$2.00.
- ZIMMERMANN, ODO JOHN, *The Late Latin Vocabulary of the Variae of Cassiodorus*: Washington, The Catholic University of America Press (1944). Pp. xx+277.